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ESD-TDR-64-178  
Vol. II

64-11

(FINAL REPORT)

STUDY FOR HYPOTHETICAL NARRATIVES FOR USE IN COMMAND AND CONTROL  
SYSTEMS PLANNING

Volume II

The Alternative National Policy Card Deck

TECHNICAL DOCUMENTARY REPORT NO. ESD-TDR-64-178, VOL. II

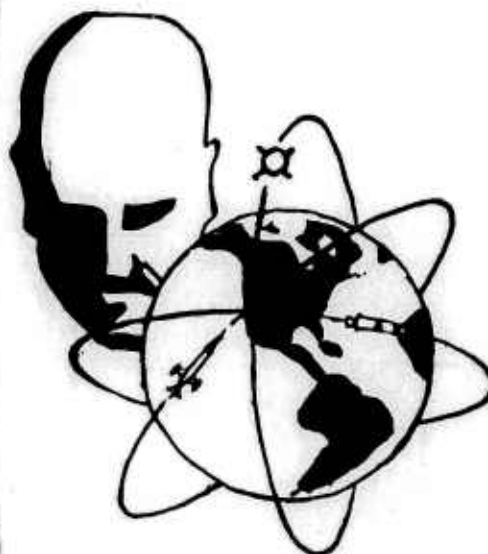
SEPTEMBER 1963

DIRECTORATE OF COMPUTERS  
ELECTRONIC SYSTEMS DIVISION  
AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND  
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE  
L. G. Hanscom Field, Bedford, Massachusetts

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Project 5101

(Prepared under Contract No. AF 19(628)-1676 by Hudson Institute Incorporated,  
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# FOREWORD

This report covers work conducted during the period 1 September 1962-31 August 1963.

Hudson Institute Report Number: HI-285-RR.

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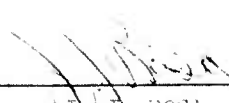
## ABSTRACT

This Report presents four techniques for the systematic simulation of possible future environments within which United States command and control systems may be called upon to operate. The Report contains: (1) Twenty-three "Future Worlds," or total environments, designed for use as scenario contexts; (2) 40 detailed "Alternate Area Projections," for the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China, Japan, South Asia, Middle East and North Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa, designed as war-gaming constraints and usable in an extensive series of combinations; (3) the "Extended Area Projection," a systematic method for deriving the possible detailed character of future diplomatic and strategic actors, in this case the U.S.S.R. for 1965, 1970, and 1975; and (4) the "Alternative National Policy Card Deck," a propaedeutic device for devising possible United States policies to interact with the environments generated by methods (1), (2), and (3) above.

Finally, an extended scenario involving the causation, initiation, and course of a series of subwars escalating to a nuclear exchange between the United States and Soviet Union, derived by method (2), is presented in toto as Volume III of this Report, together with a rudimentary indication of the ways such scenarios can be used to aid the design and evaluation of existing and proposed command and control systems.

## PUBLICATION REVIEW

This report has been reviewed and is approved.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
W. J. ROSS  
Major, USAF  
Acting Director of Computers  
Deputy for Engineering & Technology

KEY WORD LIST

1. COMMAND & CONTROL SYSTEMS
2. GAME THEORY
3. SIMULATION
4. POLITICAL SCIENCES
5. SOCIOMETRICS



# FINAL REPORT

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>VOLUME I</u> PROFILES OF THE FUTURE	
TABLE OF CONTENTS: VOLUME I . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION TO REPORT . . . . .	1
SECTION ONE:    Twenty-Three Worlds of the Early 1970's.	9
SECTION TWO:    Alternate Area Projections . . . . .	45
SECTION THREE: A Typical Extended Area Future: The U.S.S.R. from 1946-1975. . . . .	133
 <u>VOLUME II</u> BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES AND THE CARD DECK	
TABLE OF CONTENTS: VOLUME II. . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
SECTION ONE:    Thumbnail Sketches of Sixteen Basic National Security Policies . . . . .	9
SECTION TWO:    Three Expanded Basic National Security Policies . . . . .	21
SECTION THREE: The Card Deck . . . . .	65
 <u>VOLUME III</u> POLITICAL WAR GAME TRANSCRIPT AND COMMAND & CONTROL ANALYSIS	
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
GAME TRANSCRIPT AND COMMAND & CONTROL ANALYSIS . . . . .	4

## VOLUME II: TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
SECTION ONE: Thumbnail Sketches of 16 Sample Basic National Security Policies . . . . .	9
1. INTERVENTIONIST . . . . .	12
A. Type A Strategies: "Responsibility for thy Neighbor" . . . . .	12
B. Type B Strategies: Internationalism. . . . .	13
C. Type C Strategies: Active Promotion of Democracy . . . . .	14
D. Type D Strategies: Anti-Communism. . . . .	16
E. Type E Strategies: American World Leadership	17
2. NEO-ISOLATIONIST. . . . .	17
A. Type F Strategies: Abstemious. . . . .	17
B. Type G Strategies: Isolationism. . . . .	18
SECTION TWO: Three Expanded Basic National Security Policies . . .	21
1. LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVIST . . . . .	24
A. Beyond the National Interest. . . . .	24
B. The National Interest . . . . .	25
C. Alternative Worlds. . . . .	26
D. Specific Policies . . . . .	29
1. Foreign Policy for Soviet Union . . . . .	29
2. Foreign Policy for Western Europe . . . . .	30
3. Foreign Policy for the Third World. . . . .	30
4. Foreign Policy Concerning International System . . . . .	32
5. Local War . . . . .	32
6. European War. . . . .	35
7. Arms Control. . . . .	35
8. Central War . . . . .	40
9. Space . . . . .	41

VOLUME II: TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont)

Page

SECTION TWO (Cont)

2. CONSERVATIVE NEO-ISOLATIONIST. . . . .	42
A. Beyond the National Interest . . . . .	42
B. The National Interest. . . . .	42
C. Alternative Worlds . . . . .	43
D. Specific Policies. . . . .	46
1. Foreign Policy Towards Soviet Union. . . . .	46
2. Foreign Policy Towards Western Europe. . . . .	46
3. Foreign Policy Towards the Third World . . . . .	46
4. Foreign Policy Towards International System. . . . .	47
5. Local War. . . . .	47
6. European War . . . . .	48
7. Central War. . . . .	48
8. Arms Control . . . . .	49
9. Space. . . . .	52
3. PROTRACTED CONFLICT AND CONTAINMENT. . . . .	53
A. Beyond the National Interest . . . . .	53
B. The National Interest. . . . .	53
C. Alternative Worlds . . . . .	54
D. Specific Policies. . . . .	55
1. Foreign Policy Towards Soviet Union. . . . .	55
2. Foreign Policy Towards Western Europe. . . . .	55
3. Foreign Policy Towards Third World . . . . .	56
4. Foreign Policy Towards International System. . . . .	57
5. Local War. . . . .	57
6. European War . . . . .	59
7. Central War. . . . .	60
8. Arms Control . . . . .	60
9. Space. . . . .	63

SECTION THREE: The Card Deck. . . . .	65
1. ALTERNATIVE WORLDS . . . . .	69
2. LOCAL WAR. . . . .	77

VOLUME II: TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont)

Page

SECTION THREE (Cont)

3. CENTRAL WAR. . . . .	82
4. ARMS CONTROL . . . . .	89
5. ARMS RACE ENVIRONMENT. . . . .	89
6. SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL TACTICS. . . . .	92
7. FOREIGN POLICY--INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS. . . . .	95
8. FOREIGN POLICY--"THIRD WORLDS" . . . . .	97
9. FOREIGN POLICY--SOVIET UNION . . . . .	101
10. FOREIGN POLICY--WESTERN EUROPE . . . . .	104
11. SPACE. . . . .	105

CHART I

A U.S. Basic National Security Policy Synthesizes: Major Over-All Assumptions and Values. .	2
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## THE ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL POLICY CARD DECK

### INTRODUCTION

The national policy card deck is a device for (among other things) providing depth and context for scenario writing and gaming. It facilitates the quick (if somewhat superficial) production of an overall framework of national policy within which gaming decisions can be made, scenario situations generated, and conduct at branching points in scenarios chosen. Even more important, it allows the gamer or scenario writer to vary with great ease the political contexts within which he works. Thus it can be used to suggest a whole series of possible conflict situations, where a single political projection of present trends, for example, would probably only suggest two or three. In Section Three of this volume will be found four such policy decks, a rather extensively developed American deck, and fragmentary decks for the policies of Russia, China, and Europe. These last can be used in gaming by Soviet, Chinese, or European players, and in scenario writing.

#### The System

A policy card deck is a file of alternatives available to national policy in a comprehensive\* group of different policy-making areas. Its scope, structure, and the method of its use, derive from the methodological concept of the Basic National Security Policy ("BNSP"), so it is necessary to discuss that first. A Basic National Security Policy is our term for a position which sets out a total approach to the problems of external security and international order. Sketches of representative BNSP's appear later in this volume. However, Chart I shows the subject matter a BNSP should cover, and the analytic breakdown for handling it which we have found most convenient.

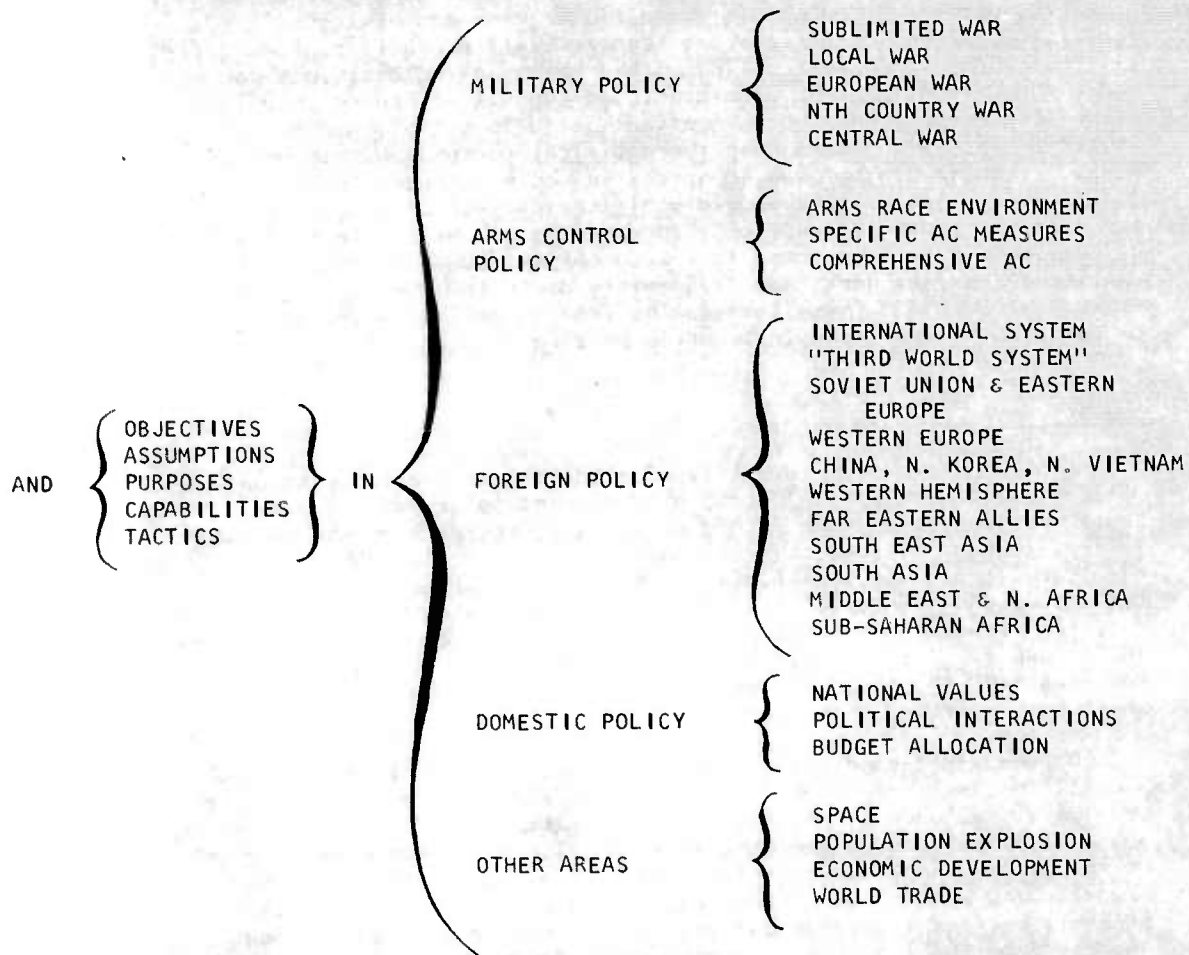
On the right-hand side of the chart are what may be called "policy areas," chosen to represent units in which policy often is made. They provide a breakdown of the BNSP which is productive for its analysis and evaluation, and at the same time constitute a comprehensive checklist of the decision-making areas involved in meeting the problems of external security and world order. The area titles under foreign policy are probably self-explanatory, but some others may require definition. Reading from the top, the military areas deal with:

---

\*Comprehensive for the problem under attack. The policy areas pertinent to the maintenance of external security obviously differ from those pertinent to the maintenance of internal economic vigor (although there is, of course, some overlap).

CHART I

A U.S. BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY SYNTHESIZES:  
MAJOR OVER-ALL ASSUMPTIONS AND VALUES



- (1) Sublimated War: unavowed conflict at the level of guerrilla warfare, mob violence, and subversion;
- (2) Local War: warfare which is limited geographically and in weapons use, does not take place on the soil of a major actor in the cold war, but does involve the use of regular troops;
- (3) European War: conventional to tactical nuclear war with the Soviet Union in Europe;
- (4) Nth Country War: nuclear war involving an enemy not presently a major actor in the cold war;
- (5) Central War: direct confrontation between major cold war actors in which military attack is made on at least one of their homelands.

Among other terms on the chart to which we assign a special definition is "International System," our usage for policy dealing with the medium- to long-run political organization of the world as a whole. It can include anything from active promotion of world government to a limited interest in maintaining an American sphere of influence and a complementary willingness to acknowledge spheres of influence of other powers. "Third World" refers to the underdeveloped portions of the world, and particularly, to the neutral nations. The "National Values" policy area deals with the effects of external and security policies upon domestic political institutions and values. "Political Interactions" is concerned with the public and Congressional response to national security programs, and "Budget Allocation" with the allocation of resources among the requirements of internal and external policy.

Policy Areas are further divided into their "elements." These are "Assumptions," "Objectives," "Capabilities," and "Tactics." This level of definition makes it more convenient to analyze existing or proposed BNSP's, evaluate and improve them, and understand their implications for procurement and action. It also allows the user of the card deck to construct policies to suit himself or his particular BNSP in areas, notably those of arms control and local warfare, where it may be difficult to draw up a satisfactory set of over-all policy choices.

The elementary breakdown of a BNSP can be achieved in two ways. Its given area policies can be inspected for their objectives, the tactics that are recommended to achieve these objectives, the capabilities thought necessary for the implementation of those tactics, and the underlying assumptions which lead its proponents to believe that those capabilities, employed in the manner set out in those tactical statements, will lead to the achievement of those objectives. To give an example from the central war area, one might start with the objective of preventing nuclear attack on the U.S., hold the assumption that nuclear weapons are so fearful that even a very small probability of a nuclear retaliation is sufficient to deter a first strike, and decide to purchase a capability of a simple, not particularly invulnerable,



nonwar capable, countervalue targeted force, and the tactics of threatening countervalue retaliation if the U.S. were to be struck and of retaliating countervalue if she is struck. In a foreign policy field a typical objective might be to strengthen democracy in the uncommitted areas, two assumptions being that it is possible to establish democracy in backward non-Western cultures through active Western guidance and aid, but that in order to insure the democracy's survival, it will be necessary to protect it from attack. To implement this one may adopt a tactic of political and military intervention.

This "analytic" approach to the BNSP is most useful to the man who wishes to evaluate individual policies or compare a number of them in order to decide on a best course. For this purpose it has the virtue of forcing the "beginning" analyst to lay out the objectives of individual policies in component areas in an explicit manner, thus providing him with a convenient format and checklist by which to determine whether his specific policies do in fact aim at the ends he wishes in each instance and to check their objectives for compatibility with the major goals of his over-all security policy (his "BNSP"). He can also cross-check the objectives of the component policies which make up a total BNSP under consideration, and spot areas where he judges it is working at cross purposes. Then by making the assumptions underlying policy in each area, appropriateness of tactics to stated objectives and to the facts of the international problem in their particular area can be more easily evaluated. One is also more likely to discover instances where the use of a particular tactical method in one policy area might impede the BNSP's ability to achieve its goals in another. All this is clearly useful to the man who wishes to choose an appropriate policy in a particular area within a given strategic framework, or to choose a framework of national policy to follow in a gaming or scenario situation. The explicated central and local war postures and tactics, and the probable wars in turn make reasonably specific demands on command and control. One of the procedural suggestions we might make here is that ESD project in this manner the command and control requirements of a series of the more popular (i.e., those which have some change of being implemented) national security policy positions. This procedure should suggest steps that might be taken to hedge a command and control system against new requirements which may be laid on them by changes in national policy (and by policy changes of other nations too, if the same procedure is followed for the Soviet Union, China, and Europe).

A second procedure for the elementary treatment of the BNSP device can be called "synthetic," as opposed to the "analytic" described above; it allows the free construction of BNSP contexts for gaming and scenario writing. It involves starting from the complete library of policy elements, constructing desired component policies from compatible members, and BNSP's from compatible component policies. To form a basis for such a synthesis, it may be useful to collect as complete as possible a spectrum of possible objectives, assumptions, tactics, and postures in each of the policy areas. Each of these categories is collected independently of the others, allowing a proliferation of combinations. The use of this catalogue allows the researcher to synthesize different national security policy contexts for his studies, and to vary them at



will. For example, by following out affinities--coordinating objectives, picking consistent and complimentary sets of assumptions and choosing non-conflicting tactics--he can, starting with a single desired policy course in a specific policy area, build harmonious policies in areas that are related. The highly interventionist policy in the uncommitted areas that we have mentioned would, for example, create requirements in local war policy for such things as local basing, capacity to deal with guerrilla warfare, and high willingness to take military action when challenged. Because this sort of local war policy is more apt to involve conflict than a more detached or cautious policy, it in turn places requirements on the central war posture, thus limiting the choices available in that policy area. If the design of the BNSP is approached from the military point of view, and the military objective of near absolute "containment" in the local war area is determined, there obviously are important consequences for political policy. An interventionist foreign policy in these areas would result, probably involving active opposition to neutralist governments and the support of governments, admirable or not, which are militarily cooperative. Or, to take still another example of one choice dictating others, if one chooses, on the basis of arms control objectives, to adopt a minimum deterrent central war strategy, fear of escalation would probably require a cautious local war policy, and perhaps a limitation of certain strategic commitments. These second-order military policies would then put limits on political policy in various areas. In this manner, it is possible with the classifications and breakdowns that are part of the card deck to trace the effects of a single policy a considerable distance.

To build a complete BNSP, and to make the preferred choice among particular policies, it is useful to refer to a set of "Major Goals and Assumptions" which establish the over-all character and direction of the BNSP. Major Goals are those strategic objectives which are so important they affect decisions in all policy areas of their BNSP. Examples would be an overriding determination to achieve arms control, or to enforce a rigid containment of the Soviet Union, or to achieve world government. The Major Assumptions category covers statements of belief concerning such things as the motivations of nations and the causes of war, the direction of world development or of the development of significant individual sections of it, and the possibility of creating change and influencing events in international affairs. Taken together, the Major Assumptions should set out a particular theory of world affairs that underlies a particular BNSP. When policy choices in one or two areas are integrated with a set of major goals and assumptions, the freedom of policy choices in other areas is considerably restricted, or those choices may even be effectively determined by the decisions already made.

Since an influential complex of assumptions which lies behind policy choice is one's particular perception of the world and one's expectations concerning the way it may develop, a section of "Alternate Worlds," which follows very closely those described in Volume I of this report, has also been included in the policy file in the card deck.

Constructing a hypothetical national policy with the aid of the device of the card deck has the advantages--especially valuable to the

novice--of promoting completeness and internal consistency. Indeed, one of the problems with the system may be that the policies constructed in this manner are more logical and well ordered than policies can be in a real context. To counteract this, the researcher may wish purposely to include some inconsistent policy choices. It is also sometimes desirable to achieve a state of internal tension by balancing conflicting goals within a policy area. Or the set of goals chosen may be impossible to fulfill consistently in all the policy areas--for example, goals in Europe may require policies which arouse hostility in the uncommitted areas.

Because of the frequency with which such anomalies appear in real policy making, it may well be valuable to the planning of future weapons systems and their command and control, to make a conscious and systematic study of the special stresses that inconsistencies in policy, both political and military, will place on military systems. The BNSP system provides a framework within which inconsistencies can be planted consciously and their effects, particularly on military strategy, evaluated methodically. The isolation of potential weak points in U.S. policy in this manner should then suggest areas and ways in which troubles requiring the application of force may arise or where awkward requirements would be placed on the forces available under a particular national strategy.\* This in turn should suggest needs for particular weapons systems and command and control capabilities.

The card deck is most useful in gaming and scenarios if policy statements are prepared, not only for the United States, but for the opponents and allies as well. The device thus can perform for the war gamer and scenario writer something of the function Yoknapatawpha County fulfilled in William Faulkner's writing. While an individual story may take place only in one small corner of the Faulknerian landscape, the fact that the whole area exists, laid out in the author's (and perhaps the reader's) mind as a source upon which to draw for detail, enriches the central story. And if the action should require movement outside of the central locale, an environment for it already exists. Similarly, the existence of a predetermined BNSP delineating a total political and

---

\*The first of the sample BNSP's appearing in Section Two, the "Liberal-Democratic Activist," provides an example which, though crude, may be illuminating. In the central war areas, strong arms control goals motivate proponents to favor a relatively weak position. On the other hand, their goals in the underdeveloped areas lead them to favor a lively interventionist foreign policy and a strong local war policy. The fact that a finite deterrent central war posture does not provide high assurances in crises may eventually lead them to limit their local war activities and consequently create difficulties in prosecuting their political goals in the underdeveloped areas; or alternately, in the course of pursuing some local war in defense of democracy vigorously, they may find themselves in a situation which has escalated to the point where war fighting demands are being put on their central-war capabilities which a finite deterrent was not designed to meet.

military policy environment assures that small decisions in a war game or a scenario, which would otherwise be decided in an arbitrary fashion, can be made to conform to the political and strategic considerations that govern the role playing of the game as a whole. In addition, these BNSP's can be inspected for areas where interests clash and opportunities for armed conflict may present themselves. This process generates lively, two-sided topics for scenarios and suggests varied and not improbable war-fighting situations against which to game-evaluate weapons system performance.

These possibilities are facilitated if the opponent in the game or scenario is provided with an appropriate BNSP as well. Not only can the player make his own moves within a context, but, to the extent that he is informed of his opponent's BNSP he is enabled to place his enemy's moves within an over-all context of political goals and military strategy as well. Finally, it is difficult to predict ahead of time exactly what policy areas a war game will make direct information demands on in the course of its development. In such instances, the pre-existing BNSP often provides either ready-made answers or a basis for such answers where otherwise the play of the game would have had to have been halted while policy was decided on by the teams or control. In short, the presence of a BNSP context gives depth to the play, confidence in decision to the players, and eliminates playing delay when the rise of unexpected problems makes information demands outside the central focus area of the game.

The benefits of context as outlined above are real but admittedly marginal. The provision of an elaborate political and military context for gaming and scenario-writing is usually an expensive and time-consuming process, requiring expert participation. In many situations it would be questionable whether the gains received justify the effort expended to provide it. However, with the alternative policy file and system, a broad policy context can be created quickly and easily. A gaming group can run through all policy areas in the file and, using the synthetic technique described above, select preferred policy choices to make up a complete BNSP. These choices can then be recorded by their identifying letter-number code, and by reference to the card deck the list can quickly be translated into a written policy statement.

At this point, it is necessary to insert the caution that the alternative file and BNSP system is not likely to be of great use to the expert except possibly as a check list. He will be likely to find the information oversimplified, and the system confining. Instead, it is written primarily for gaming, as an aid to the person who is thrust into a policy-maker's role by the requirements of the moment. But it can prove to be an educational device. Its use can emphasize the broad range of alternatives available to the U.S. in many policy-making areas, and by forcing the user to be precise in his choices, it may illustrate some nuances of policy.

In the pages that follow will be found:

First, Thumbnail Sketches of sixteen rather arbitrarily defined Basic National Security Policies, grouped into seven general categories or types;

Second, three of those national security policies discussed in detail, with the appropriate "cards" from the card deck selected to demonstrate how a systematic set of specific policy choices are derived from the card deck by the selection of a particular BNSP;

Finally, Section Three, the "cards" of the card deck.

SECTION ONE

THUMBNAIL SKETCHES OF SIXTEEN SAMPLE  
BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES

THUMBNAIL SKETCHES OF SIXTEEN SAMPLE  
BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES

---

Some Basic Approaches to National Security

INTERVENTIONIST

Type A Strategies

- 1. Crusade for Development
- 2. Neo-Missionary

Type B Strategies

- 3. Minimum Deterrent Internationalist
- 4. Wilsonian Democrat
- 5. Conservative Internationalist

Type C Strategies

- 6. Liberal Activist
- 7. Aggressive Democrat

Type D Strategies

- 8. Protracted Conflict & Containment
- 9. Crusade Against Communism

Type E Strategies

- 10. Liberal "Pax Americana"
- 11. Conservative "Pax Americana"

NEO-ISOLATIONIST

Type F Strategies

- 12. "Liberal"
- 13. National Interest Pragmatist

Type G Strategies

- 14. "Conservative"
  - 15. Active Avoidance
  - 16. Fortress America
-

## INTERVENTIONIST

### Type A Strategies: "Responsibility for thy Neighbor"

The first category of strategies that we shall consider is marked by its deep concern for bringing about economic, political and social development of the backward areas of the world, and for solving the problems of the arms race and thermonuclear war. They contemplate channeling a high proportion of national energy into economic development programs, either for motives of charity and fellowship alone, or because they hold this to be the surest way to create a world environment favorable to peace and the long-run survival of the American system. Proponents of these strategies assign a very high probability to the occurrence of nuclear war if the present arms situation continues, and are highly pessimistic concerning the consequences of such war. However, since they believe that the arms race is primarily maintained through the mechanism of self-fulfilling prophecy--that is, that fear of what an enemy will do leads to steps which cause the enemy to take the countersteps originally feared--they expect that the arms race can be ended or even reversed by one side's withdrawal from it and willingness to make disarmament moves on its own. Therefore, these strategies recommend unilateral disarmament initiatives.

The proponents of these strategies often expect that eventually (they may differ as to whether this will occur in the long, medium, or short run), with world-wide improvement in living conditions and the elimination of social injustice, and when nations have moderated their distrust of one another through their experience in overcoming the threats of the arms race, peace will become the norm of international society. They may look forward to world government established on a democratic model.

Crusade for Development: This particular variation of the Type A Strategy would devote a set large proportion, say 10-20% of the GNP, to development projects. This aid would be distributed according to economic criteria without regard to the political convictions of the recipients (for example, a large portion of American aid would go to Communist China). The crusader for development would favor a very strong disarmament position. In the extreme version of this strategy, he would recommend complete unilateral disarmament; at the very least, he would favor the unilateral adoption of a minimum deterrent.

Neo-Missionary: The Neo-Missionary is a moderate version of the strategy. Its proponents are apt to rely more on the force of the U.S. example and on the provision of volunteer technical aid, than upon money itself to foster the modernization of backward areas. There would be an increase in Point IV and Peace Corps types of projects, and a strong concern with the improvement of political and social conditions in the United States--the presumed exemplar nation. The Neo-Missionary, concerned with the preservation and validity of the American system, will be relatively cautious in his approach to arms control: He will maintain at least a Minimum Deterrent, and may favor a Finite Deterrent posture.

### Type B Strategies: Internationalism

This second class of strategies places high priority on the achievement of a parliamentary international government, and as an initial phase, in the expansion of the institutions of international cooperation that exist today. These strategies are characterized by a willingness to make some sacrifice of U.S. sovereignty to such ends. They are sympathetic, in varying degrees, to economic development programs and to disarmament, but believe that the latter must be accompanied by the development of an international policing mechanism if disarmament is to be permanent or even contribute substantially to world peace.

Minimum Deterrent Internationalist: This strategy is distinguished by its idealism and its benign perception of the motives of international behavior. In its most pure version it would advocate immediate United States action to establish such world government. In all its versions it assumes that nations are held back from world government by essentially baseless suspicions, and that an initiative by one great power, made with generosity and trust, might be sufficient to launch a world movement in the direction of political unity. It therefore recommends that the United States submit its policy without qualification to the norms of existing world law, and act so far as possible through existing mechanisms of international cooperation.

It would agree with the assumption made in Type A Strategies that a mechanism of self-fulfilling prophecy lies behind the arms race; it therefore advocates unilateral initiatives in disarmament. It would contemplate the unilateral reduction of U.S. forces to the minimum deterrent level.

It also advocates a vigorous international aid program, to be administered through the U.N. It would expect to prepare the underdeveloped areas for participation in democratic world government by promoting their economic and political development.

Wilsonian Democrat: This strategy differs from the preceding one in that it sees a struggle in the world between democratic and despotic forces, and acknowledges a possible need to employ force to overcome the latter. Since the interests of the greatest number of nations, and the force of world opinion, must, in this conception, favor the restraint of aggressors, it recommends as the answer to the immediate problems of world order the collective security of democratic states. It aims at the eventual creation of full world government based on a federal system that recognizes the national rights of peoples. It would support all efforts for national self-determination. Wholeheartedly opposed to Western Power colonialism, it is equally opposed to Soviet domination of the East European nations. It would be willing to employ force to implement collective security and in defense of American rights, and would contemplate a great war, fought to the point of unconditional surrender, in a major confrontation of democratic and despotic forces. This strategy



would not, however, approve of the calculated use of force in Limited War to promote narrow national interests, and probably would not be willing to employ force to liberate the Soviet and Chinese satellite states except under the auspices of an international collective security action.

Conservative Internationalist: This strategy follows from an influential American political tradition that derives from classical free trade internationalism. It is marked by the cautious pursuit of classic liberal goals, and by the weight it places on the preservation of American ties with Europe. Because its proponents believe that the maintenance of an independent and friendly Europe is vital to American interests, they are strong proponents of NATO and would be willing to employ a nuclear strike first in the defense of Europe if there were no alternative.

This strategy favors free trade, the growth of cooperative international economic arrangements, and discriminating programs of international aid. While its proponents would not consider aid a means merely to achieve specific political objectives, and regard it as having independent merit and a moral justification, they would employ American influence and aid discrimination to discourage nationalization and statist economics abroad.

The Conservative Internationalist is sympathetic to disarmament, although he would be unwilling to see it pursued too far without the simultaneous development of an international policing authority. He recognizes that the proper functioning of such a force implies de facto world government, and is willing to accept the consequences for U.S. sovereignty. He is a strong supporter of the present-day U.N.

#### Type C Strategies: Active Promotion of Democracy

These strategies are characterized by the resolution with which they try to establish and protect democracy in the non-Western world.

Liberal Democratic Activist: The Liberal Democratic Activist is internationalist in his aims and a sincere proponent of arms control. What differentiates his strategy from the preceding ones is his willingness to use force vigorously and in a calculated manner for limited ends--in order to forward his social and political goals in the underdeveloped countries, and generally to enlarge his nation's influence on world affairs and the development of the international system. In the underdeveloped areas, his policy will be frankly interventionist. Foreign aid programs will be enlarged; aid will be used in support of local factions of liberal and democratic orientation, and to pressure reactionary governments into granting democratic concessions. Aid would also be devoted to preparing Afro-Asian and Latin American populations for democratic government through literacy programs and the like. In this strategy, the United States would promote, political-military coups to replace

non-democratic governments. Considerable military risks would be accepted to defend democratic influence in these nations, or the conditions necessary for these nations to develop in a democratic direction. External Communist aggression would be resisted at great costs. Interventions would be practiced to prevent internal Communist take-overs in foreign countries and to repress anti-democratic rebellions.

The Liberal Democratic Activist is concerned about civil and social conditions at home, and to maximize resources for domestic social and economic progress would limit military expenditures as much as is consistent with his foreign policy. For this reason, and because he believes that it will slow the arms race and make deterrence more stable, he would hold strategic forces close to the finite deterrent level. His policy also favors a public renunciation of first strike, and the conventional defense of Europe. The proponents of this policy may feel that it is safe to let a first-strike capability lapse because they believe that the Soviets are in the process of some moderation of their ideological and national aggressiveness. The reduction of military pressure on the U.S.S.R. may be expected to have a favorable influence upon Soviet military policy and perhaps to lead to a general warming of Soviet-American relations.

In the long run, the Liberal Democratic Activist aims at the establishment of full-fledged world government. He believes, however, that a democratic world government can only exist if there is an underlying world-wide democratic consensus, and that the development of such a consensus will be slow. Therefore, although his policy contemplates limited risks to encourage existing international institutions, it does not advocate an immediate attempt to establish international government, nor does it rely too heavily on the peace-keeping abilities of existing international agencies.

The Aggressive Democrat: Like the Liberal Activist, the Aggressive Democrat aims at making the world democratic. However, he is less restrained by considerations of legality than the former, and he does not share the Activist's concern for arms control or the achievement of world government. The Aggressive Democrat aims to play midwife to democratic forces, and to give them the support that will enable them to overcome their opposition. He would attempt to capture modern revolutionary and nationalist movements, even in some cases to cooperate in the violence these movements often engender. However, for the most part, he favors peaceful change, even at the cost of compromise, partly out of the conviction that this course, in the long run, is best able to create the environment for the growth of democracy. The main weapons of this strategy would be economic, technical, financial and military aid measures designed to build political solidarity and to reform the social and political structures of recipient states. The strategy might also include an aggressive policy of alliance, or even of unification, among the states the United States commits itself to defend.

The Aggressive Democrat is willing to fight sublimited-war actions and limited wars to defend non-Communist areas against Communist subversion or invasion. He is also willing to carry the fight into Communist territory if the opportunity presents itself. Some versions of this strategy would favor attempts to incite rebellions behind the Iron Curtain. The Aggressive Democrat would be willing to spend the money to procure a Central War force sufficient to allow him to carry out potentially provocative policies without fear of Soviet retaliation, and to achieve Escalation Dominance in major confrontations.

#### Type D Strategies: Anti-Communism

The D Strategies regard the struggle with Communism as so important as to exclude most other considerations.

Protracted Conflict and Containment: Proponents of this strategy hold that the Soviets are ideologically committed to world domination. They do not expect this ambition to change significantly in the near future. They believe that the world is in a great period of historical transition, and that the outcome of the Communist struggle with the West may determine the character of the world for the next thousand years. They calculate, however, that if the Communist drive can be resisted, and counterpressure is applied, the Communists may eventually be frustrated or stalemated. Alternatively, they hope that the Soviet dictatorship, deprived of foreign successes, may weaken in its hold over the Russian people and that revolution may occur. This strategy would confront Communism on every military and ideological front and take whatever measures are necessary to prevent Soviet gains. It holds that since the adversary recognizes no limits on his tactics, we must also use whatever means promise success, including sabotage and subversion. It would support right-wing or middle-of-the-road groups abroad, and left-wing movements (although reluctantly) where they seem tactically valuable as counters to Communist groups. Militarily, it calls for a degree of mobilization sufficient to fight and win the Cold War, and if necessary a hot war. Anxious to obtain Escalation Dominance, it tends to emphasize the importance of both high resolve and strong posture.

Crusade Against Communism: This strategy is in many ways simply the Protracted Conflict and Containment BNSP intensified. Its policies assume that the Soviets are not only bent on world conquest, but that a collision between the two great powers, probably in a general war, is unavoidable. It looks upon such a collision as presenting opportunities as well as dangers. The goal of this strategy is not to frustrate or contain Communism but to win: either to conquer the Soviet Union or to cause an overthrow of its government. This strategy would contemplate premeditated preventive war if all other means of defeating the enemy had failed and the remaining alternative seemed to be war at a time chosen by the enemy.

#### Type E Strategies: American World Leadership

These Strategies are marked by the ambition to lead the world to unity and achieve American dominance within that order.

Liberal "Pax Americana": The advocate of this strategy wishes a federated world liberal democratic community organized on the American model. To this end, he would combine the pro-democratic interventions of the Liberal Activist, the missionary spirit of the Type A Strategists, and the world government-promoting activities of the Minimum Deterrent Internationalist. To support an American role as leader of the democratic forces of the world, the proponent of a Liberal Pax Americana would maintain a sizable military establishment; but because the success of his hopes requires the voluntary adhesion of other nations to a liberal world order, he would be restrained in his use of force.

Conservative "Pax Americana": The attitudes informing this strategy are not unlike those shared by the conservative concert of power states of the 19th century. Its aim is to impose peace and stability on the international system. To accomplish this it prescribes the imposition of authoritarian inhibitions or controls by the major conservative powers--in this case, the United States--upon smaller states. Its proponents consider this kind of action necessary if the world is to be freed from nuclear war and arms control to be enforced.

To achieve such a dominant world position, the proponent of this strategy would conduct a realpolitik: a calculated pursuit of the national interest. His use of force and such other instruments of national power as aid and subsidy would be expedient. While he would prefer a world dominated by the United States and its allies, he may be willing to settle for a spheres-of-influence arrangement in which the Soviet Union and the United States would each impose arms control on the areas they dominate.

#### NEO-ISOLATIONIST

#### Type F Strategies: Abstemious

These strategies are marked by a reluctance to intervene in the affairs of other nations that is based in part in principle, and in part on a conviction that American national security is not served by massive attempts to alter the course of world affairs.

Liberal Neo-Isolationist: The Liberal Neo-Isolationist position tends to de-emphasize the arms race and the Cold War. It argues that other areas of the world are rising in importance and that the United States and Russia are not going to settle the history of the twentieth

century. It recognizes that the United States has world responsibilities but argues that these, properly conceived, are limited responsibilities, and that the power of the United States constructively to influence other states is also limited. It favors large foreign aid programs but does not believe that they should be manipulated for short-term political gain. It regards military force as most useful in limited situations, and nuclear forces as of deterrent value only. It emphasizes the failures and difficulties of the Soviet and Chinese Communists in Asia and Africa, and believes that the future is more likely to be affected by non-Communist despotisms or messianic movements than by Communism. It argues that much of the fervor has gone out of the Communist cause, and that at present relatively modest threats suffice to deter the Soviets, and possibly even the Chinese Communists, from aggression and provocative risk-taking.

National Interest Pragmatist: The strategy of the National Interest Pragmatist is based on a straightforward pursuit of United States national interests, narrowly construed. Although it would like to see an increase in international cooperation, the development of world institutions, and the success of arms control, its policy in these fields is primarily concerned with the American national interest. The policy is relatively indifferent to world public opinion, except where it specifically affects United States interests. It makes alliances on the basis of mutual interest, but does not commit itself emotionally to these alliances. Foreign aid might be at the level of \$5 billion a year, but it would be largely military, given only to very friendly nations. The National Interest Pragmatist is emotionally cool towards the United Nations and careful not to overbuild or overestimate its power. He favors a substantial defensive capacity and would procure a military capability somewhere between a Deterrence plus Insurance and a Not Incredible Counterforce First Strike force. While force is admissible to promote national interests, this strategist is restrained in its employment--slow to commit himself; committing himself only where conditions allow for an efficient and successful utilization of force and where the outcome will clearly be beneficial to the United States; and applying only as much force as is necessary to achieve delimited and finite ends.

The advocate of this strategy is interested in arms control but only with very adequate hedges and guarantees. He tends to judge each measure by itself, giving little credit to the possible role of explicit agreements in alleviating over-all tension and suspicion and thus facilitating further agreements.

#### Type G Strategies: Isolationism

The Type G Strategies involve various degrees of political withdrawal from world affairs.

Conservative Neo-Isolationist: The Conservative Neo-Isolationist discounts the importance of the Cold War and the arms race. He is uninterested in the Third World and is contemptuous of the idea that

African or Asian nations can play important roles in affairs. He is willing to have alliances, but only for temporary and specific purposes; he does not wish to have any permanent bonds except, possibly, in the western hemisphere. He is willing to have a rather small foreign-aid program, basically to be respectable, to match, more or less, what other nations are doing. He is willing to be a member of the United Nations, but without enthusiasm (he would definitely like to have the headquarters moved to a foreign country). Militarily, this strategy calls for a very large Type I Deterrent which might or might not include Active or Passive Defense adequate to implement a Not Incredible Counterforce First Strike strategy.

Active Avoidance: The Active Avoidance strategy is a version of Conservative Neo-Isolationism affected by an active distrust of foreign states. Where the Conservative Neo-Isolationist would restrict alliances, the proponent of Active Avoidance would make none except in the most compelling circumstances. Aid programs would be abandoned rather than curtailed, and the United States would withdraw from the U.N. Trade with the rest of the world would continue, and diplomatic relations, but American relations with the world would be minimal and, essentially, hostile.

Fortress America: As opposed to the emotionality of Active Avoidance, the Fortress America strategy is based on a calculation that fundamental American interests are best served if the nation is very strong and completely independent of outside aid or resources. Its proponents recommend that the United States terminate its alliances, and instead of attempting to promote its security through diplomacy should rely on an impregnable military defense system. As a corollary, the United States would embark on an autarchic economic program. This strategy requires a heavy, but not necessarily sophisticated, Central War force, and a capability of rapid mobilization of a large conventional army at home.

A second version of this strategy, based on the assumption that while the United States itself is not independently defensible, the Western Hemisphere as a whole is, would promote close links with Latin America and possibly an attempt to detach Canada from the Commonwealth.

SECTION TWO

THREE EXPANDED BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES



### THREE EXPANDED BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES

Each of the three expanded BNSP's is preceded by a descriptive section dealing with its Basic Goals and Assumptions. We have formalized, to some extent, one important set of assumptions which underlines policy choice--the one which may conveniently be considered as the "alternative world" appropriate to a given BNSP. Following the informal exposition of Basic Goals and Assumptions we have attempted to set out a number of relationships between the BNSP and an "alternative world"; that is, we have written out:

1. the world which, we judge, most closely approximates the present perception of a typical proponent of the BNSP's;

and, where relevant,

2. the worlds he fears may develop, and which he is most concerned to prevent;
3. the worlds which he believes are possible to achieve and worth expending energy and taking risks to bring about;

or

4. the worlds which are compatible with the implementation of the BNSP.

This discussion of the relationship of the strategy to the Worlds is then followed by an attempt to demonstrate the concrete policy implications of both these choices and the Basic Goals and Assumptions discussed earlier with policy selections taken from the card file. By and large, the ordering of the cards in this section is straightforward, but a few cautions should be entered. In general, foreign policy decisions have been made first, and the military decisions followed on them. In some places, it has proved impossible to characterize a policy by one card selection. If this occurs in a section where the cards are, for the most part, mutually exclusive, it may be assumed that a balance or compromise between the selections is what is desired. Where the cards are additive, objectives have been generally listed in order of priority, and tactics according to their weight. Some such cards, however, do not fall into a priority ordering but simply add detail to a major or tactical program.

In all cases the discussion of the BNSP's will contain both arbitrary choices and choices for which insufficient argumentation is given. The discussions are intended to be illustrative and didactic rather than scholarly, empirical, or deductive.



## FIRST EXAMPLE OF A BNSP: LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVIST

### A. Beyond the National Interest

Although they feel that the goals of increasing arms control, achieving world government, and bringing about world-wide economic development and political democracy can all be justified by arguing that their achievement would contribute to the physical security and cultural vitality of America, the proponents of a Liberal-Democratic Activist strategy tend to pursue them also out of a feeling that these are all morally admirable objectives and will contribute to the good of mankind. Part of the motivation behind the concern for arms control is the feeling that even the ownership of weapons of such dreadful power as nuclear warheads is morally reprehensible. They believe that disarmament measures will act to reduce both the likelihood of nuclear war and the damage such a war might cause. As advocates of world government, the proponents of this strategy are the inheritors of the centuries-old dream of peace on earth and the uniting of mankind. While some proponents doubtless hold this vision because it gratifies the deep human emotional and intellectual liking for unifying solutions, for collecting and organizing all like things within one system (an important reason, one suspects, for the attractiveness of world government plans), other proponents believe simply that this proposal holds out the best hope that some of the world's most pressing problems can be solved. It might, its proponents believe, make possible the control of the use of force throughout the world, and either end, or greatly mitigate, the incursions of war on man's well-being. Man can then focus more of his energies on the problems of ending poverty and increasing justice. The strategy aims at the establishment of a world government on the democratic federal model, one which would allow considerable local control over local matters, and on the whole increase the freedom of its citizens rather than restrict it. It assumes that world government can be maintained without requiring a totalitarian kind of control.

The achievement of economic equality and prosperity among nations is expected to eliminate an important source of conflict between the component areas of a world order. Internal democracy is expected to increase the internal peacefulness of component nations, end external militancy and aggressiveness that stems from internal tensions and dictatorial aims, and fit nations to participate properly in the democratic processes of the world government. Thus a program of economic development and political democratization provides an environment within which world government can function without heavy use of force and restrictions on freedom to keep order. In support of their program, the proponents of this strategy believe that democracy is a universally applicable system that can be engrafted onto any culture, and that its eventual growth in the underdeveloped areas of the world can be hastened by actions the Western democracies can take at this time.

The proponents of this strategy thus would devote greater energy to the pursuit of these international goals than would be justified by their strict contribution to American security. In the areas of arms control, and of world government, they might, in fact, be willing to undertake policies which involved some risk to the narrowly defined national interest.

## B. The National Interest

### Major National Goals

1. The maintenance of physical integrity of the United States, and of its way of life.
2. The spread of social enlightenment, economic progress, and political democracy.
3. The moderation of the arms race and the reduction of the general nuclear danger.
4. The relaxation of the cold war.
5. The increase of world unity and order under developing international government.
6. The maintenance of internal political freedoms and an effort to prevent a debilitating diversion of scarce human and natural resources from social-economic progress to essentially sterile preoccupations of security.

### Major Underlying Assumptions

Like most of the strategies which we would classify as liberal, this one rests upon the basic assumptions that nations will, for the most part, behave rationally, and that the world is a potentially harmonious place where cooperation can produce the greatest benefits. Nations, by "rational" behavior, are expected to pursue policies calculated to make the greatest contribution to national well-being, and not to seek power beyond that necessary to insure national safety, nor ideological goals that would jeopardize the national security. If nations do in fact behave on these calculations, and the world is such that they can increase their individual well-being by cooperation, then obviously nations would follow cooperative policies as soon as they are educated sufficiently to understand their value. However, while the proponents of this particular strategy agree with such a view to the extent of holding that, on the average, the individual nation is better off cooperating with others than fending for itself in a competitive system, they diverge from it in allowing that in some cases, as in that of a very strong nation, one nation can profit from uncooperative behavior. A cooperative world will not, then, arise of itself; this strategy admits the need for force to handle such special cases, as well as such irrationally motivated anomalies as the Nazi movement.

The major specific assumptions of this strategy are mentioned by policy area below:

Soviet Russia: Russian aggressiveness stems partially from ideological and nationalistic impulses, and partially from a not wholly unfounded fear of Western power, aims, and intentions. Therefore, the proper policy for dealing with Russia is one that makes aggression so costly

that it looks unattractive compared with peace, but which at the same time allays Russian fears and works to draw her towards the Western world and into a mutuality of interests with the West.

The Underdeveloped Countries: Our own way of life will be more secure and more vigorous in a world which is prosperous, socially modern, and politically democratic. In the long run, it might be impossible to maintain our way of life against outside pressures in the absence of these conditions. Nations that are democratic will be more peaceful in their behavior, more sympathetic to others' interests, will ally themselves in struggles against totalitarian powers, and will make the best members of an eventual world government. Economic prosperity will make the underdeveloped areas more profitable trading partners. Their peoples will be less susceptible to Communism. Furthermore, prosperity will increase the receptivity of the national environment to democracy because it will bring with it an increase in literacy, expansion of the middle class, and, as life becomes easier, an increased willingness to compromise disputes and follow legal rules for handling conflicts. Without change, the underdeveloped world is vulnerable to Communism and might organize its strength in a manner hostile to us. If this becomes the case, we might at the least be forced to divert our resources to military defense, and at the worst might succumb to attack or secure our defense only at the expense of war. In any case it would be a moral disaster for the United States to be a member of the rich or white bloc in a bipolar world split on "white" vs. "colored" or "rich" vs. "poor" lines.

Arms Control: There is a very high probability that nuclear war cannot be avoided if the armament race continues at its present pace or even if armaments are maintained at their present level. Disarmament will on the whole decrease the possibility of war, and almost surely reduce the level of destruction one would inflict; therefore, it is worthwhile taking some risks to achieve it.

World Order: Only world government with formal legislative procedures for handling disputes and a centralized enforcing arm can provide a permanent and trustworthy solution to the problem of war. Such an ordering of the world is necessary to insure that nuclear weapons will not be used against America. However, such a government can function well only if there is a world-wide consensus supporting it. Since the development of consensus is necessarily a slow process, the development of world government will require a long-term effort.

### C. Alternative Worlds

The assumptions implicit in this strategy regarding the alternative types of future worlds described earlier in the study are as follows:

Typical estimate of likely present world future:

BETA<sub>1</sub>

Many Structural Stresses

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communist movement.

Peking competing vigorously for allegiance of bloc members, Asian Communist parties; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusionist policy discriminating against U.S. exports to Europe and compete for trade in third areas; have sophisticated, independent, nuclear force.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

Third areas non-Communist, but poor, discouraged; some hysterical political movements (Congos, Castros, Nkrumahs).

Possible to achieve and worth working for:

ALPHA<sub>1</sub>

Mostly Peaceful and Prosperous

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, relatively relaxed, ideologically discouraged, highly deterred.

Western Europe is united (including Britain), growing fast.

China is vigorous, armed.

Third areas relatively calm, achieving moderate growth rates.

U.S., U.S.S.R., Western Europe announce a no-cities nuclear policy.

ALPHA<sub>2</sub>

U.S.S.R. is rich, relaxed, a status quo power, cooperating extensively in economic projects administered by the U.N.

Western Europe is united (including Britain), growing fast. Germany, neutralized by East-West nonaggression pact in '69" is excluded from political aspects of union.

China, experiencing the opening stages of a "post-Stalinist" embourgeoisement, has agreed to bridle her foreign policy and accept the Soviet "no wars" doctrine in return for extensive Soviet aid.

Japan is prosperous, quiet, unthreatened, exerting leadership in its area.

Third areas are relatively calm, benefiting from massive foreign aid programs supported by U.S., U.S.S.R., Western Europe, and Japan.

Inspected test ban includes France and China. Major nuclear powers announce no-cities nuclear policy, are under increasing pressure to reduce their military forces.

Likely and important to avoid:

ZETA<sub>1</sub>

Collapse of the Third World

Soviet Union is relatively rich, increasingly European, essentially unadventurous in foreign policy, attention largely taken up with extra-bloc problems.

U.S. and Europe in economic slump, preoccupied with internal concerns. Isolationist trends in America.

Failure of world market for raw materials has triggered political and social collapse of third world. Situation characterized by political chaos, the failure of hope, and racism which combine to create Third World vulnerability to Chinese Communist influence.

China has broken with the U.S.S.R., and is pursuing aggressive foreign policy in third areas with strong "colored peoples vs. white peoples" bias.

IOTA<sub>2</sub>

Aggressive Germany B

Resurgent Militarism

Germany, reunited at the price of "perpetual" neutralization and denuclearization, has fallen to a rightist-militarist putsch. The government has begun a significant conventional arms build up, and is pushing a secret weapons development program. It aims to develop nuclear

forces sufficient to psychologically neutralize Soviet nuclear forces while it carries on lower level actions against Eastern and Central Europe.

The U.S. and U.S.S.R. have failed to intervene in support of this treaty.

IOTA<sub>3</sub>

Aggressive Germany C

A neo-Nazi Germany.

D. Specific Policies

The Liberal-Democratic Activist would likely choose the following specific policies (from those included in the Card Deck):

1. Foreign Policy for the Soviet Union

FP-SU: 5

Accommodation

Objectives: Reach a peaceful modus vivendi with the U.S.S.R. based on compromises of conflicts of interest.

Assumptions: The allaying of Soviet fear of Western power and intentions, and the recognition of legitimate Soviet national interests, may make peaceful accommodation possible between East and West.

Tactics: Avoid provocations, reduce tensions, develop mutual confidence by tolerating moderate Soviet gains, negotiating conflicts, offering compromises.

OR

FP-SU: 8

Containment

Objectives: Prevent any Soviet gain whatsoever in any part of the world.

Assumptions: If the Soviet Union is shown that aggression is unremunerative, it will turn its energies to internal affairs and her society will mellow. International cooperation will then become more feasible.

Tactics: Oppose Soviet expansion at any point on the globe with whatever force is necessary. (Could be accompanied by a simultaneous effort to enlarge the area of common interests.)

Whether 5 or 8 is stressed depends on current S.U. behavior.

FP-SU: 7

Common Interest Building

Objectives: Maintain American security against the Soviet threat. Simultaneously, lay down a basis of common interest for the development of peaceful relations in the future.

Assumptions: The relationships of nations are determined by the interactions of their interests. If we can create many common interests between the Soviet Union and U.S., our conflicts will become easier to resolve.

Tactics: Maintain a steady defense against Russian aggression, but at same time work to enlarge Soviet-American trade and technical exchange, promote joint technical projects, and seize opportunities for political cooperation.

2. Foreign Policy for Western Europe

FP-WE: 8

U.S.-Dominated NATO

Persuade the European nations that our commitment to their defense is reliable and that attempts to build nuclear forces on their own only involve them in unnecessary expenses and dangers.

NATO nuclear forces are under U.S. control, conventional defense is coordinated under largely American direction.

Attempt to prevent the Europeans from involving themselves in activities outside Europe which decrease Western strength and popularity or increase the risk of war to the alliance.

OR

FP-WE: 9

Truly Centralized NATO

Install centralized executive control over NATO forces.

Alliance has single deterrent force, completely integrated army, and centralized war planning for war in Europe.

In political areas work to create trust and unity of purpose among members sufficient to make this arrangement workable.

3. Foreign Policy for the Third World

a. Objectives

FP-TW-0: 6

To strengthen existing democratic governments in the uncommitted areas, support them against internal opposition and protect them from external threats. To establish democratic governments where they are not already existing.

FP-TW-0: 2

To "uplift" the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, educate them, modernize their social institutions (may include Christianizing them).

FP-TW-0: 10

To raise the standard of living and improve social conditions of the peoples of the uncommitted areas, thus reducing susceptibility to various forms of totalitarianism, including Communism.

FP-TW-0: 9

To bring about the rise of political systems in the uncommitted areas which are sympathetic to American ideals and share our long-term national interests, such as restraining totalitarianism and achieving a free and peaceful world. Strengthen trends favoring long-range American security and preservation of American way of life.

FP-TW-0: 11

Prevent any further Communist intrusion into the third areas:  
strengthen local will and ability to resist Communism;  
prepare ground legally, politically, and technically so that U.S. military aid can function effectively.

FP-TW-0: 12

Protect American interests in the third areas.

FP-TW-0: 3

To carry out a policy in the third areas which will contribute to the strengthening of international institutions and the further development of international law as a force.

To advance the underdeveloped countries in a manner which will make them capable of fulfilling membership in a world government successfully.

b. Tactics

FP-TW-T: 5

Democratic Intervention

Support democratic forces in underdeveloped countries.

Protect existing democratic governments militarily against external anti-democratic enemies and internal anti-democratic factions.



Help them strengthen national economies.

Help democratic factions rise to power.

Administer economic and military aid in a manner which encourages democratic tendencies in the underdeveloped societies.  
Use promises or withholding of aid as a tool to extract concessions from reactionary governments.

#### 4. Foreign Policy Concerning International System

##### FP-IS: 6

##### Gradual-Development Internationalist

Aim at developing world government, but expect this to be a long process which will depend on the gradual vergence of the value systems and the governmental ideals of different people, and the slow development of international organizations.

Promote cultural and technical exchange; be willing to incur some risks and costs in the development of international law and international institutions.

##### FP-IS: 8

##### Area Unification

Act to encourage the establishment of unified governments in geographically and culturally amenable areas. Expect this to help stabilize international policies by clearly staking out areas of influence, eliminating power vacuums, permanently settling questions of geographic control and political dominance, creating powerful and viable units which are not attractive to aggressors.

#### 5. Local War

##### a. Areas

Practically all.

##### b. Objectives

##### LW-0: 7

Deny ground to likely attacks from likely enemies.

##### LW-0: 8

Restore status quo.

##### LW-0: 3

Help control riots, attempts to overthrow government.

##### LW-0: 4

Help control major rebellions (counterinsurgency).

c. Tactics

LW-T: 8

Promise to fight any aggressor. Indicate highest threshold we would cross, if necessary, in order to achieve our objective:

- g. mount a full-scale conventional effort.

d. Posture

LW-P: 1

Be prepared to use up to 3 divisions at one time in local wars.

LW-P: 3

Procure air, sea and land arms for local wars.

(This is primarily a matter of spending money for General Purpose Forces which are thought not to be useful for central war.)

LW-P: 8

Guerrilla or special forces.

These are not necessarily clandestine forces. They are forces which fight behind enemy lines or against enemy guerrillas (behind friendly lines), in small numbers. They would have special training and would be able to operate with very austere supply.

LW-P: 4

Nuclear capability.

This card is limited to a capability designed to deter enemy use of tactical nuclears. It implies that we prefer to fight nonnuclear.

LW-P: 6

Use overseas basing for some Local War forces.

We assume that the choice between overseas and ZI basing--i.e., more precisely, the choice of the proper mix--is primarily a matter of four factors:

- (1) for a given effectiveness, including transport to front, ZI basing will be more expensive;
- (2) reliance on overseas basing imposes at least potential political and other costs to maintain the security of the bases;
- (3) for at least some situations overseas basing will give some capabilities (e.g., very fast reaction) that cannot be matched by ZI basing; and

(4) there may be political advantages to some overseas basing.

If you put this card in your policy package, it means that you are generally more impressed by the aspects of these four factors which are favorable toward overseas basing, i.e., that you "lean toward" a preference for overseas basing.

LW-P: 7

Good airlift.

Obviously here there is a spectrum of possibilities (some of which might involve other special rapid transport for Local War forces). Assume roughly currently-programmed Local War force transport and only include this card in your "package" if you would substantially increase our capability. In other words, include this card if you think that it is important to give a heavy emphasis to the ability to rapidly transport large Local War forces.

LW-P: 9

CASF (Composite Air Strike Force).

Special air force unit designed for quick overseas deployment as a unit to participate in Local War.

LW-P: 10

STRICOM.

Special ground force divisions which can be quickly deployed overseas--this card indicates a desire for ground forces with very superior firepower and mobility which can be in action in special areas of the world within a few days. Includes Army (ARSTRIKE) and Air Force (AFSTRIKE).

LW-P: 12

Native armies.

Help some non-Communist countries arm themselves so that they can better defend themselves.

See also LW-P: 13.

LW-P: 13

Local "Infrastructure."

In lieu of some or all arming of native forces do you want to do things that will make it more possible for us to intervene effectively on behalf of various countries? This would involve things like improving local airfields and perhaps increasing the compatibility of the training and equipment of local forces with that of U.S. forces.

6. European War

EW: 7

No reliance on strategic deterrent against invasion.

Large, completely nuclear-capable forces, designed to defend Europe against any size invasion and to cope with and match any use of nuclears (i.e., hardened rear).

Plans are not to initiate use of nuclears.

OR

EW: 6

Use strategic deterrent to prevent use of nuclears except on battlefield.

Large forces (e.g., 30 divisions on central front, plus reserves) capable of fighting with nuclears.

Battlefield nuclear weapons available. Logistics, training, etc., for battlefield use of nuclear weapons, if initiated by enemy.

Rear (include rear air defense) nuclear vulnerable.

7. Arms Control

a. Objectives

AC-O: 1

Arms control objectives:

- a. Reduce the likelihood and the destructiveness of war;
- b. Save money.

b. Arms Control Environment

1) Purposes

AC-E-P: 3

To reduce Soviet suspicions of western motives, relax the cold war atmosphere so as to create a more favorable environment for negotiation, both for arms control and political settlement as well.

AC-E-P: 6

To slow down, halt, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Keep nuclear power in hands of responsible major powers.

AC-E-P: 4

To open up Soviet society further to Western influences.

AC-E-P: 2

To put control of nuclear weapons into the hands of international organization (in short run, or in long run).

2) Tactics

AC-E-T: 3

Unilateral Moves

Take unilateral arms control steps. Watch Soviets for reaction. If they respond in kind, take further arms control step. If they do not respond, or seem to be trying to take advantage of move, either fail to continue, or retract the earlier step.

AC-E-T: 8

Gradual Disarmament

Press for the creation and acceptance of a carefully staged disarmament plan, providing for careful inspection and confirmation after each step, before the next is taken.

AC-E-T: 7

Pragmatic

Approach Soviet arms control proposals with an open mind. Accept those that seem to offer a real measure of arms control, without making requirements irrelevant to this immediate end. Advance proposals ourselves which we think would offer a real measure of arms control if accepted.

AC-E-T: 14

Bargaining

Bargain for arms control. Offer the Soviets concessions in other areas in return for adherence to arms control agreements; tie our cooperation in negotiations initiated by the Soviets to their arms control cooperation.

AC-E-T: 15

Implicit Agreement

Cultivate implicit arms control understandings. Don't worry too much about getting formal agreement or formal verification. Depend on intelligence and use of denunciation to prevent trouble.

AC-E-T: 16

Crisis Manipulation

Be prepared to press hard for appropriate arms control agreement just after crisis, when fear of the consequences of allowing the present arms situation to continue has been aroused, and nations are therefore more receptive.

AC-E-T: 6

Study Groups

Promote conferences where Soviet and American experts involved in strategic planning can exchange strategic concepts, and we can pass on the new strategic trends with arms control overtones (such as hardening, centrally operated locks on weapons, city avoiding and war controlling tactics).

AC-E-T: 9

Flexible Inspection

Tailor inspection according to risk. Don't enter into any agreement in which there is:

- a. a large risk of national disaster.

AC-E-T: 11

Inspection Personnel

Favor inspection by:

- b. United Nations.

AC-E-T: 17

Restrain Nuclear Diffusion

Take steps to slow, prevent, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Be willing to use:

- 2. diplomatic pressure

to accomplish this.

(Indicate what threshold you think we should cross.)

AC-E-T: 5

International Police Force

Promote the expansion of United Nations policing activities; aim at the eventual creation of a full-fledged nuclear international police force.

c. Specific Arms Control Measures

AC-SM: 2

Press for multilateral force limitations or reduction measures:

- a. budget limitations on military spending
- b. nuclear force ceilings
- c. nuclear force cuts
- e. universal nuclear disarmament

AC-SM: 1

Take unilateral force limitation or reduction measures.

- a. self-imposed budgetary limit
- b. self-imposed force ceiling
- c. unilateral force reductions

AC-SM: 4

Press for multilateral ban (explicit or implicit) on procurement of certain weapon systems.

- a. chemical and biological weapons
- b. gigaton warheads
- c. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 3

Unilaterally adopt procurement restraints on:

- a. doomsday machines
- b. chemical and biological weapons
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 6

Press for multilateral agreement (explicit or implicit) to adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine
- b. chemical and biological weapons
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs
- e. nuclear testing

AC-SM: 5

Unilaterally adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine
- b. chemical and biological weapons
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs
- e. nuclear testing

AC-SM: 8

Press for multilateral restrictions on deployment. Agree to put no:

- a. weapons in space
- c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts
- d. weapons in designated "disengaged" areas

AC-SM: 7

Unilaterally announce deployment restraints. Renounce the deployment of:

- a. weapons in space
- c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts

AC-SM: 10

Press for multilateral agreement to adopt certain tactical restraints:

- a. no first use

AC-SM: 9

Adopt certain tactical restraints unilaterally:

- a. no first use

AC-SM: 11

Take steps to stabilize deterrence:

- a. adopt a non-first strike sustaining posture
- b. harden our forces

AC-SM: 12

Take unilateral procurement steps and/or work for agreements which will increase the possibility of keeping nuclear war under control, and facilitate its termination:

- a. buy superior, endurable command and control
- b. adopt C & C avoiding tactics
- c. write controlled war options into pre-set war plans
- d. invite hostile observers into American command posts
- e. negotiate exchange of such observers
- f. try to persuade Soviets of advantages of buying high-powered command and control
- g. try to persuade Soviets of advantage of sparing our C & C
- h. try to persuade Soviets to adopt controlled war tactics
- i. negotiate hot lines

AC-SM: 13

Promote safety precautions to prevent accidental war:

- a. put centrally released locks on weapons
- b. make forces less alert
- c. adopt "wait and evaluate" tactics for second strike
- d. persuade the Soviets to adopt locks, lower alerts, adopt "wait and see" tactics



AC-SM: 14

Press for anti-"surprise attack" measures:

- a. reciprocal overflights
- b. reciprocal basing or manning of radar lines (to look backwards)
- c. reciprocal special surveillance teams which can be invited to inspect key facilities in times of intense crisis by the host government
- d. reciprocal observers at rail and road centers, major ports to check for troop movement
- e. reciprocal observers in strategic command and control posts
- f. offer privileges described in b, c, d, e, to the Soviets unilaterally (circle those favored)

8. Central War

CW: 3

Mostly Finite Deterrence

Objectives: Conserve resources, stabilize deterrence, slow down the arms race, reduce likelihood of accidents, and limit damage if war should occur. At the same time, gain some improved War Outcome capacity and a capability for graduated deterrence.

Assumptions: A little addition of war capable forces for improved War Outcome will not lead to an arms race or instability, while the extra flexibility may be necessary to prevent inadvertent war.

Capabilities: A countervalue targeted Finite Deterrence force plus a small addition of war capable forces.

Tactics: Threaten a countervalue retaliation with surviving weapons if U.S. or major forces are struck. If Type I Deterrence fails, fight a controlled war, as far as your capability permits. In last resort, retaliate countervalue.

OR

CW: 6

Deterrence Plus Insurance

Objectives: To have a strategic alternative to making a large-scale countervalue attack if deterrence fails. To be able to fight in a calculated manner aimed at limiting damage and ending the war acceptably, with some surety that nation will survive it as a nation.

Assumptions: The threat to make a war-fighting response to an attack is more credible than the threat of a countervalue retaliation, because the second is essentially a promise to commit suicide while the first is not. Either type of deterrence, however, may fail, and therefore we had better be prepared to fight a war.

An attacker, faced with a limited countervalue retaliation plus a blackmail threat, or a constrained counterforce attack which tips the military balance against him, will probably react rationally and choose to negotiate rather than strike again.

Capabilities: Invulnerable force small to moderate in size; good survivable command and control; flexible targeting, selective release; active and passive defense, i.e., good war capable forces.

Tactics: Threaten countervalue retaliation if U.S. is attacked. If Type I Deterrence fails, fight a controlled war, using a combination of countervalue exemplary and constrained counterforce attacks and blackmail to persuade enemy to accept a reasonable peace treaty.

## 9. Space

### 1. Scientific

No obvious immediate military applications aside from communication, warning, reconnaissance and surveillance. Emphasis on vehicle technology, basic research, space experiments and exploration. However, recognize that space is important and apply a relatively relaxed criteria for the justification of even expensive programs.

### 7. Freedom of Space

Proceed with the development and deployment of space systems on the assumption that they will not be attacked by the other side. No plans of initiating or coping with limited space warfare. Try to negotiate Antarctic-type arms control treaties (with some possible exceptions for warning, reconnaissance, and surveillance); want freedom in space to become like freedom of the sea.

### 2. Prestige and Propaganda

Perform experiments when possible, but emphasize the spectacular and showy, attempt to create a world-wide image of leadership in space technology.

## SECOND EXAMPLE OF A BNSP: CONSERVATIVE NEO-ISOLATIONIST

### A. Beyond the National Interests

This strategy is either marked by general indifference to goals beyond those of preserving the physical and institutional security of the United States, or holds that the pursuit of the national interest narrowly defined is most likely to produce eventual results of value to mankind. The partial withdrawal from international affairs which characterizes this strategy may be founded on the assumption that the United States has a special uprightness as a nation which she can best preserve by disassociating herself from the necessarily amoral or immoral dealings of world politics. As far as the strategy derives from the theory that disassociation is the method of behavior best calculated to secure national safety, it is directed toward the national interest itself. But its goal beyond these considerations may be the preserving of the good and the true in this world, even at a possible cost to American power.

### B. The National Interest

#### Major National Objectives

1. Maintenance of the sovereignty, physical integrity, and institutional security of the United States.
2. Reduction of U.S. foreign involvement.

#### Assumptions Underlying Them

1. The combination of American conventional capability with its strategic striking force can be made strong enough to turn away any possible threat to security.
2. What goes on in areas outside of the Western Hemisphere--and to an extent inside of it (in Continental South America, for example)--has little effect on U.S. security. Even if all the uncommitted areas went Communist, there is no evidence that Russia or China would be able to unify them so that their power could genuinely threaten the United States.
3. Under stress, nations will follow their own interests, unaffected by the principles of justice and right, or any moral obligations they may have incurred. This means that alliances are untrustworthy and should only be temporary and founded on expedient calculations. It also means that all nations are either actually or potentially dangerous, for when interests come into sufficiently intense conflict, force must arbitrate.
4. It is doubtful that America can bring about useful social-political change in countries in which it intervenes, or whether such change, if it should come, would really serve the American interest.

C. Alternative Worlds

Typical estimate of present world future:

BETA<sub>1</sub>

Many Structural Stresses

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communist movement.

Peking competing vigorously for allegiance of bloc members, Asian Communist parties; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusionist policy discriminating against U.S. exports to Europe and compete for trade in third areas; have sophisticated, independent, nuclear force.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

Third areas non-Communist, but poor, discouraged; some hysterical political movements (Congos, Castros, Nkrumahs).

Possibly developing toward:

BETA<sub>2</sub>

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communism. Total break with Peking.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; six follow anti-American trade policy. France is prosperous, has sophisticated nuclear deterrent. Withdrawal of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces from the two Germanies. Internationalization of a United Berlin.

Peking has broken with Moscow, is openly competitive and anti-white, mounting threats against Thailand and Burma. Laos becomes satellite in '67."

Japan is prosperous, passive, introverted. No nuclear force.

Third Areas non-Communist, poor, discouraged. Indonesia firmly anti-Chinese.

Speculation by Soviet intellectual circles on the credibility of nuclear force against Chinese. U.S., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and France establish a body to consider problems of nuclear proliferation. China denounces it.

This policy is also compatible with developments in:

ETA<sub>1</sub>

Collapse of Europe

Soviet Bloc, reunited behind a newly aggressive Soviet Union, has taken West Berlin and now presses the West hard.

European unity movement has collapsed under economic recession, petty nationalism, Soviet resurgence, and Europe is torn by dissension as extremist factions both Left and Right gain influence. England has gone Neutralist, i.e., Third Force, and Bonn has made a treaty with East Germany; France is torn by civil war; Italy is under Left Socialist Communist coalition.

U.S. is neo-isolationist, relying on nuclear threats ("nuclear Gunboat Diplomacy") rather than diplomacy, foreign aid, or conventional forces to deny Western Europe, Latin America, and Afro-Asia to the Sino-Soviets. NATO is hobbled by European disunity.

Western influence in Latin America and Afro-Asia highly deteriorated. Third area nations, chaotic and unstable, take neutral positions and wait to see who will win.

#### ZETA<sub>1</sub>

##### Collapse of the Third World

Soviet Union is relatively rich, increasingly European, essentially unadventurous in foreign policy, attention largely taken up with extra-bloc problems.

U.S. and Europe in economic slump, preoccupied with internal concerns. Isolationist trends in America.

Failure of world market for raw materials has triggered political and social collapse of third world. Situation characterized by political chaos, the failure of hope, and racism which combine to create Third World vulnerability to Chinese Communist influence.

China has broken with the U.S.S.R., and is pursuing aggressive foreign policy in third areas with strong "colored peoples vs. white peoples" bias.

#### ZETA<sub>2</sub>

Left Sectarian factions dominate U.S.S.R. Seek to exploit political discontent in West and Europe, expansionist ambitions revived. U.S.S.R. and Peking compete for underdeveloped areas.

Western Europe favors dependent trade, bitter competition for markets between U.S. and E.E.C., Japan turns to Chinese markets.

Economic stagnation and political chaos in Afro-Asia; border clashes, unity of India threatened, civil war in Indonesia. Ceylon and Yemen centers of Communist subversion. French and German economic interests competing with U.S. in Latin America.

Africa is poor, resentful and dependent for foreign aid and technology on "white" world.

Neo-isolationist trends in U.S.

THETA<sub>1</sub>

Decline of Soviet Power

Soviet bloc has degenerated into a congeries of hostile states. Clashes occur along the Sino-Soviet Border; Anti-Soviet and nationalist feeling surfaces in Eastern Europe.

Bloc troubles have led to the shrinking of Soviet ambitions and to the development of strong nationalist-isolationist trends within U.S.S.R.

Peking aggressive, making strong bid to inherit leadership of international Communist movements; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the Six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusivist economic policy and compete for trade in third areas, have fairly sophisticated independent nuclear force. They find the opportunities created by Soviet weakness interesting.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

And could even tolerate the coming of:

EPSILON<sub>1</sub>

Communism on the March

U.S.S.R. has seized West Berlin, signed East German peace treaty, threatens Iran, Afghanistan; once again dominates China.

Laos, South Vietnam have fallen to Communists; Cambodia teetering.

Japan neutralist, anti-American, hysterical; India, Indonesia, Burma sign tripartite "nonaggression" pacts with U.S.S.R., China.

Western European union strained; economic growth flagging; some revival of Communist voting strength in France, Italy, Benelux.

NATO conventional forces underequipped, understaffed; NATO nuclear force hampered by European dissension, wishful thinking.

It does not seek either to achieve or forestall any particular world developments.

D. Specific Policies

1. Foreign Policy Towards Soviet Union

FP-SU: 2

Ignore the Soviet Union

Objectives: Reduce our foreign responsibilities and involvements, decrease the amount of energy and resources expended on the Soviet problem.

Assumptions: Soviet activities outside our borders largely do not concern us. Even if the U.S.S.R. were able to conquer or convert most of the underdeveloped world, which is unlikely, it could not successfully organize or administer its energies so as to threaten the U.S. American strategic deterrence and conventional capacity is sufficient to defend against any seriously conceivable threat.

Tactics: Ignore the Soviet Union unless it threatens one of a very narrowly defined group of American vital interests. In such a case, make an absolute stand in its defense.

2. Foreign Policy Towards Western Europe

FP-WE: 5

Classic Alliance

Allow NATO to dissolve, but retain classical two-way alliance commitment to aid the other party if it is attacked.

Contracting members maintain individual nuclear deterrents and forces. Coordination of forces is uninstitutionalized and left up to individual decisions of the nations involved.

Policies of members in other areas are treated with the respect due sovereign great powers, and little attempt is made to influence them unless they actively endanger the welfare of the alliance as a whole.

3. Foreign Policy Towards the Third World

a. Objectives

FP-TW-0: 13

Reduce Involvement

Avoid involvement in any great power conflicts over the uncommitted nations and in petty quarrels among uncommitted nations themselves. Minimize U.S. responsibility and keep the nation out of trouble.

b. Tactics

FP-TW-T: 13

Isolationist Non-Intervention

Ignore events in the uncommitted areas and make no effort to influence their political affairs, unless the vital interests of the U.S. are directly threatened. Then make a strong stand which will generally involve the threat or use of force, rather than any political maneuvering.

4. Foreign Policy Towards International System

FP-IS: 1

Sovereignty Maximizing

Reduce to the unavoidable minimum America's political relationships with and economic dependency upon other nations. Withdraw from alliances and limit participation in international organizations of a political nature. Seek economic autarky. Perhaps discourage American Business activity abroad. In general, attempt to make America a closed and self-sufficient entity.

5. Local War

a. Areas

LW-A: 7 Caribbean

perhaps

LW-A: 1 Latin America

possibly

LW-A: 14 The Northern Tier (Turkey, Iran)

and

LW-A: 15 North Africa (Egypt only)

b. Objectives

LW-O: 8

Restore status quo.

c. Tactics

LW-T: 6

Deter Local War by indicating a willingness to escalate:  
Threaten to

j. attack major opponent's ZI.

LW-T: 8

Promise to fight any aggressor. Indicate highest threshold we would cross, if necessary, in order to achieve our objective:

h. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.



d. Postures

LW-P: 1

Be prepared to use up to 3 divisions at one time in local wars.

LW-P: 3

Procure air, sea and land arms for local wars.

LW-P: 7

Good airlift

LW-P: 4

Nuclear capability

This card is limited to a capability designed to deter enemy use of tactical nuclears. It implies that we prefer to fight nonnuclear.

All Remaining Areas

LW-T: 1

Ignore Local Wars. Be neutral.

6. European War

EW: 1

Strategic Defense of Europe: Conventional Tripwire

Use strategic deterrent to prevent any serious threat against Europe.

Small conventional forces (low tripwire).

"Tactical nuclear: available only for symbolic or threatening use."

7. Central War

CW: 9

Not Incredible Massive Retaliation

Objectives: To deter extreme Soviet provocations against U.S. interests (Type II Deterrence). To have enough appearance of control and the possibility of survival to prevent the resolution of the decision-maker from being shaken by stark and unavoidable counterretaliation calculations. To reduce reliance on Massive Retaliation.

Assumptions: In order for Type II Deterrence to work, it is necessary not only to have the capability of inflicting nuclear devastation on one's enemy, but also to make credible the promise to use it in response to a major provocation short of outright invasion. As long as it is starkly obvious, from war plan calculation, that every one will be killed in a counterretaliation, this threat will not be effective. However, small additions of counterforce war controlling and defensive capabilities will be

sufficient to allow us to look convinced, to ourselves and to the enemy, that we will strike as we promise, and raise the credibility of our threat to a safe level.

Capabilities: Force large enough to do major damage to the Soviet Union on a first strike, hedged against a disarming strike by hardening and large size. Just enough survivable command and control, targeting and release flexibility, and defenses to make the calculations that we might be able to escape unacceptable devastation in a war look plausible.

Tactics: Threaten both countervalue spasm and controlled counterforce strikes if provoked. Carry through only the latter and follow through with appropriate controlled response tactics.

## 8. Arms Control

### a. Objectives

#### AC-O: 1

- a. Reduce the likelihood and the destructiveness of war
- b. Save money

### b. Arms Control Environment

#### 1) Purposes

##### AC-E-P: 9

To gain reasonable assurance that arms control agreements will not be exploited by the Soviet Union strategically.

##### AC-E-P: 6

To slow down, halt, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Keep nuclear power in hands of responsible major powers.

##### AC-E-P: 5

To create arms control precedents which may be useful in future negotiations with the Soviets.

#### 2) Tactics

##### AC-E-T: 19

##### Suspicion

Treat Soviet arms control offers skeptically. Assume they are attempting to gain political or military advantages with their proposals.

##### AC-E-T: 4

##### Make War "Unthinkable"

Reduce probability of war and increase desire for arms control by convincing Soviets and ourselves of nuclear war's horror. Publicize pessimistic predictions of its effects, and adopt all or nothing postures which, if invoked, would fulfill these predictions.

Resist any attempt to make war "feasible."

AC-E-T: 12

Precedent Setting

Approach present arms control negotiation with concern for setting precedents which may be useful later.

(For example: insist on inspection to establish the principle, even where it may not be entirely necessary to the policing of a specific agreement.)

AC-E-T: 17

Restrain Nuclear Diffusion

Take steps to slow, prevent, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Be willing to use

1. noncooperation and persuasion

AC-E-T: 10

Rigid Inspection

Have a preset policy on inspection:

- e. Require a very high probability that cheating will be detected.

AC-E-T: 11

Inspection Personnel

Favor inspection by

- d. American officials only

d. Specific Arms Control Measures

AC-SM: 1

Take unilateral force limitation or reduction measures.

- a. self-imposed budgetary limit

AC-SM: 2

Press for multilateral force limitations or reduction measures.

- a. budget limitations on military spending
- b. nuclear force ceilings
- c. nuclear force cuts

AC-SM: 3

Unilaterally adopt procurement restraints on:

- a. doomsday machines
- b. chemical and biological weapons
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs
- e. civil defense

AC-SM: 4

Press for multilateral ban (explicit or implicit) on procurement of certain weapon systems.

- a. chemical and biological weapons
- b. gigaton warheads
- c. orbital bombs
- d. civil defense

AC-SM: 5

Unilaterally adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 6

Press for multilateral agreement (explicit or implicit) to adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine
- b. chemical and biological weapons
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs
- e. nuclear testing
- g. radical new systems

AC-SM: 7

Unilaterally announce deployment restraints. Renounce the deployment of:

- a. weapons in space
- b. weapons in foreign countries
- c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts

AC-SM: 8

Press for multilateral restrictions on deployment. Agree to put no:

- a. weapons in space
- b. weapons in foreign countries
- c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts

AC-SM: 11

Take steps to stabilize deterrence.

- b. harden our forces

AC-SM: 12

Take unilateral procurement steps and/or work for agreements which will increase the possibility of keeping nuclear war under control, and facilitate its termination.

- i. negotiate hot lines

AC-SM: 13

Promote safety precautions to prevent accidental war.

- a. put centrally released locks on weapons
- b. make forces less alert
- c. adopt "wait and evaluate" tactics for second strike
- d. persuade the Soviets to adopt locks, lower alerts, adopt "wait and see" tactics

9. Space

3. Earth-Oriented

Assume or recognize that the major conflicts (political and military) will be on earth; that space is spectacular and interesting but not very important aside from the obvious exceptions. Military and civilian space systems are likely to be both expensive and unreliable except for the pursuit of temporary headlines and, with relatively few exceptions, scientific research is too expensive for the return--so do not waste resources. Indeed because space is so fashionable be especially suspicious of projects urged on "objective" grounds that utilize space.

### THIRD EXAMPLE OF A BNSP: PROTRACTED CONFLICT AND CONTAINMENT

#### A. Beyond the National Interest

The advocates of this strategy have an interest, above and beyond the security of the United States, in preserving the enlightened western democratic tradition from being engulfed by dictatorships, and in seeing it prevail, in time, throughout the world. They believe that the times are crucial, that if the Soviet Union is able to impose her pattern on the world it will be generations before democracy will recover, while if democracy prevails and totalitarianism is ended in the Soviet Union and China it may be possible to set upon the great adventure of securing world peace and world prosperity under democratic world government. They feel that because historical events have left the United States the strongest of the western democracies, it has a special responsibility in this struggle and must accept the possibility of policies which entail greater risk to the United States than would be incurred in the pursuit of our own security alone, to carry it out well.

#### B. The National Interest

##### Major National Objectives

1. Survival of United States as a functioning state with a continuing way of life (this is a minimal objective).
2. Prevent any further expansion of the Soviet Union.
3. Buy time.
4. Use above time to create strains within the Soviet and Chinese systems.

##### Assumptions Underlying Them

1. The Soviet Union is motivated by ideology and nationalism to seek world domination. Her aggressiveness cannot be dissolved by good will, nor will it moderate itself in the foreseeable future.
2. Many advocates believe that if the expansion of the Soviet Union can be frustrated:
  - a. she may become willing to settle for a stalemate.
  - b. learning that aggression is unremunerative, she may turn her energies to internal pursuits. The resulting increase in her standard of living may lead to the mellowing of Soviet society and thus the liberalization of her government.
  - c. her dictatorial government, no longer able to justify itself by foreign conquest or expansionist dynamic may fall to revolution.

Others believe that an "acceptable" regime will emerge only out of violent internal changes or external intervention or most likely both.

3. Whichever of the above eventualities takes place, it will occur only as the conclusion of a long-term holding operation. The U.S. must prepare itself for a long struggle.

C. Alternative Worlds

Estimate of present world situation:

between

DELTA<sub>1</sub>

Containment and Confrontation

Trend to disintegration of blocs reversed.

Soviet thrust in Berlin revives NATO, Western cohesion; Moscow regains international prestige, ascendancy over China.

Western Europe accepts integrated NATO nuclear force, abandons independent deterrents.

Heightened cold war competition in third areas.

and

BETA<sub>1</sub>

Many Structural Stresses

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communist movement.

Peking competing vigorously for allegiance of bloc members, Asian Communist parties; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusionist policy discriminating against U.S. exports to Europe and compete for trade in third areas; have sophisticated, independent, nuclear force.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

Third areas non-Communist, but poor, discouraged; some hysterical political movements (Congos, Castros, Nkrumahs).

Possible to achieve and worth working for:

BETA<sub>1</sub>

and even

ALPHA<sub>1</sub>

Mostly Peaceful and Prosperous

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, relatively relaxed, ideologically discouraged, highly deterred.

Western Europe is united (including Britain), growing fast.

China is growing slack.

Japan is vigorous, armed.

Third areas relatively calm, achieving moderate growth rates.

U.S., U.S.S.R., Western Europe announce a no-cities nuclear policy.

Possible and important to avoid:

EPSILON<sub>1</sub>

Communism on the March

U.S.S.R. has seized West Berlin, signed East German peace treaty, threatens Iran, Afghanistan; once again dominates China.

Laos, South Viet Nam have fallen to Communists; Cambodia teetering.

Japan neutralist, anti-American, hysterical; India, Indonesia, Burma sign tri-partite "nonaggression" pacts with U.S.S.R., China.

Western European union strained; economic growth flagging; some revival of Communist voting strength in France, Italy, Benelux.

NATO conventional forces underequipped, understaffed; NATO nuclear forces hampered by European dissension, wishful thinking.

D. Specific Policies

1. Foreign Policy Towards Soviet Union

FP-SU: 8

Containment

Objectives: Prevent any Soviet gain whatsoever in any part of the world.

Assumptions: If the Soviet Union is shown that aggression is unremunerative, it will turn its energies to internal affairs and her society will mellow. International cooperation will then become more feasible.

Tactics: Oppose Soviet expansion at any point in the globe with whatever force is necessary. (Could be accompanied by a simultaneous effort to enlarge the area of common interests.)

2. Foreign Policy Towards Western Europe

FP-WE: 7

Tight Partnership of Equal(s) NATO

Achieve as great a degree of coordination of military planning and foreign policy as possible in an alliance wherein members retain ultimate control over the use of their deterrents and nonnuclear forces.



Create de facto military integration which makes individual action difficult, increases the efficiency with which the alliance would react to attack, and provides a basis for possible formal force unification later on.

Promote political unification of Europe, and attempt to influence European policies outside Europe so they are as conducive as possible to the strength and security of the alliance.

### 3. Foreign Policy Towards Third World

#### a. Objectives

##### FP-TW-0: 11

##### Prevent Communist Intrusion

Prevent any further Communist intrusion into the third areas:

strengthen local will and ability to resist Communism  
prepare ground legally, politically, and technically, so that U.S. military aid can function effectively.

#### b. Tactics

##### FP-TW-T: 8

##### Pragmatic Intervention

Adopt policies which appear most effective short-run means of protecting American interests and preventing the further aggrandizement of our enemies. For example:

Try to sustain and strengthen all anti-Communist governments.

Seek influence among underdeveloped nations by supporting or seeking friendship of the forces that seem to have or be gaining power.

Give aid wherever immediate and short-term effects seem likely to be useful to us.

##### FP-TW-T: 9

##### Go Along with Our Allies

Support West European allies (perhaps somewhat unenthusiastically) in colonial disputes and consult them on other policy matters concerning the underdeveloped.

##### FP-TW-T: 11

##### Regional Alliances

Sponsor anti-Communist alliances and other regional arrangements (such as METO, SEATO, OAS) to defend against aggression.

4. Foreign Policy Towards International System

FP-IS: 4

Status Quo-Instrumental

No immediate program for serious changes in the present world order. Policy toward international institutions determined primarily by calculations of national interest and the requirements of national security.

5. Local War

a. Areas

All areas.

b. Objectives

LW-O: 8

Restore status quo.

LW-O: 4

Help control major rebellions (counter insurgency).

LW-O: 3

Help control riots, attempts to overthrow government.

c. Tactics

LW-T: 8

Promise to fight any aggressor. Indicate highest threshold we would cross, if necessary, in order to achieve our objective.

h. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.

LW-T: 2

Encourage alliances which have strength to defend themselves.

LW-T: 3

Give military aid to potential defenders so that they can defend themselves.

d. Postures

LW-P: 2

Be prepared to use up to 10 divisions at one time in local wars.

LW-P: 5

Nuclear force

This card implies a posture consistent with the initiation of the use of nuclears in a local war situation and that we make some nontrivial sacrifices in the training, equipping, and operation of our local war forces in order to give them a good nuclear capability.

LW-P: 3

Procure air, sea and land arms for local wars.

(This is primarily a matter of spending money for General Purpose Forces which are thought not to be useful for central war.)

LW-P: 8

Guerrilla or special forces

These are not necessarily clandestine forces. They are forces which fight behind enemy lines or against enemy guerrillas (behind friendly lines), in small numbers. They would have special training and would be able to operate with very austere supply.

LW-P: 11

Stockpiles overseas

This card indicates a desire to have one's cake and eat it--the troops can be in the ZI but heavy equipment can be stockpiled in areas close to the zones of potential danger. Armored div. equipment and artillery in the Philippines, the Middle East, etc.--so heavy infantry and armored outfits can be flown in at rates close to that of airborne units.

LW-P: 6

Use overseas basing for some Local War forces.

We assume that the choice between overseas and ZI basing--i.e., more precisely, the choice of the proper mix--is primarily a matter of four factors:

- (1) for a given effectiveness, including transport to front, ZI basing will be more expensive;
- (2) reliance on overseas basing imposes at least potential political and other costs to maintain the security of the bases;
- (3) for at least some situations overseas basing will give some capabilities (e.g., very fast reaction) that cannot be matched by ZI basing; and
- (4) there may be political advantages to some overseas basing.

If you put this card in your policy package, it means that you are generally more impressed by the aspects of these four factors which are favorable toward overseas basing, i.e., that you "lean toward" a preference for overseas basing.

LW-P: 7

Good airlift

Obviously here there is a spectrum of possibilities. (Some of which might involve other special rapid transport for local war forces.) Assume roughly currently programmed Local War force transport and only include this card in your "package" if you would substantially increase our capability. In other words include this card if you think that it is important to give a heavy emphasis to the ability to rapidly transport large Local War forces.

LW-P: 9

CASF (Composite Air Strike Force)

Special air force unit designed for quick overseas deployment as a unit to participate in Local War.

LW-P: 10

STRICOM

Special ground force divisions which can be quickly deployed overseas--this card indicates a desire for ground forces with very superior firepower and mobility which can be in action in special areas of the world within a few days. Includes Amry (ARSTRIKE) and Air Force (AFSTRIKE) units.

LW-P: 12

Native armies

Help some non-Communist countries arm themselves so that they can better defend themselves.

See also LW-P: 13.

LW-P: 13

Local "Infrastructure"

In lieu of some or all arming of native forces do you want to do things that will make it more possible for us to intervene effectively on behalf of various countries. This would involve things like improving local airfields and perhaps increasing the compatibility of the training and equipment of local forces with that of U.S. forces.

6. European War

EW: 6

Use strategic deterrent to prevent use of nuclears except on battlefield.

Large forces (e.g. 30 divisions on central front, plus reserves) capable of fighting with nuclears.

Battlefield nuclear weapons available. Logistics, training, etc., for battlefield use of nuclear weapons, if initiated by enemy.

Rear (include rear air defense) nuclear vulnerable.

## 7. Central War

CW: 7

### Expanded Insurance

Objectives: To have a strategic alternative to making a large-scale countervalue attack. To be able to fight a calculated war. To be able to mount a disarming first strike if extreme circumstances should require it. To be able to escalate in crises without fear of provoking a strategic attack.

Assumptions: A war-fighting response is more credible threat than a countervalue retaliation. Deterrence may fail and we should therefore be prepared to fight a war. The enemy is likely to react rationally to proper war-controlling tactics. It is possible, however, that we may be faced with a "madman" or with a government made desperate by the course of a crisis and a preventive or pre-emptive strike will be necessary.

Capabilities: Some first-strike disarming capability; considerable protected second-strike forces; good survivable command and control; retargeting capability and selective release; "good looking" active and passive defense.

Tactics: Threaten countervalue retaliation if U.S. is struck. Respond to extreme Soviet provocation or news of Soviet decision to strike with a disarming first strike. Fight controlled war, emphasis on disarming Soviet offensive forces, if she strikes first.

## 8. Arms Control

### a. Objectives

AC-0: 1

- a. Reduce the likelihood and the destructiveness of war
- b. Save money
- c. Other \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate your choices and their priorities)

### b. Arms Control Environment

#### 1) Purposes

AC-E-P: 9

To prevent the Soviet Union from exploiting world desire for arms control in order to gain strategic or political advantage over us. To gain reasonable assurance that arms control agreements will not be exploited by the Soviet Union strategically.

AC-EP: 8

To improve our strategic position vis à vis the Russians, through arms control manipulation.

AC-EP: 4

To open up Soviet society further to Western influences.

AC-EP: 7

To convince the third areas and our allies that we are honestly pursuing arms control and that the Soviets are obstructing it.

AC-EP: 5

To create arms control precedents which may be useful in future negotiations with the Soviets.

2) Tactics

AC-E-T: 19

Suspicion

Treat Soviet arms control offers skeptically. Assume they are attempting to gain political or military advantages with their proposals.

AC-E-T: 18

Pressure Tactics

Make the Soviet bloc more anxious for arms control by indicating a willingness to step up arms race, to allow crisis to escalate, or to use nuclear weapons.

AC-E-T: 21

Exploitation

Use the widespread feeling for arms control to try to persuade the Soviets to accept agreements which will put them at a greater strategic disadvantage.

AC-E-T: 12

Precedent Setting

Approach present arms control negotiation with concern for setting precedents which may be useful later.

(For example: insist on inspection to establish the principle, even where it may not be entirely necessary to the policing of a specific agreement.)



AC-E-T: 9

Flexible Inspection

Tailor inspection according to risk. Don't enter into any agreement in which there is:

- a. a large risk of national disaster
- b. a moderate risk that the nation will find itself in serious trouble
- c. even a small risk of national trouble if cheating is not caught

AC-E-T: 11

Inspection Personnel

Favor inspection by

- a. neutral nations
- b. United Nations
- c. committees of adversaries
- d. American officials only

c. Specific Arms Control Measures

AC-SM: 2

Press for multilateral force limitations or reduction measures.

- a. budget limitations on military spending
- b. nuclear force ceilings
- c. nuclear force cuts

AC-SM: 3

Unilaterally adopt procurement restraints on:

- a. doomsday machines
- b. gigaton warheads
- c. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 4

Press for multilateral ban (explicit or implicit) on procurement of certain weapon systems.

- a. chemical and biological weapons
- b. gigaton warheads
- c. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 5

Unilaterally adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine

AC-SM: 6

Press for multilateral agreement (explicit or implicit) to adopt R & D restraints--No:

- a. doomsday machine
- c. gigaton warheads
- d. orbital bombs

AC-SM: 8

Press for multilateral restrictions on deployment. Agree to put no:

- a. weapons in space

AC-SM: 10

Press for multilateral agreement to adopt certain tactical restraints.

- a. no first use
- b. no cities

AC-SM: 11

Take steps to stabilize deterrence.

- b. harden our forces

AC-SM: 12

Take unilateral procurement steps and/or work for agreements which will increase the possibility of keeping nuclear war under control, and facilitate its termination.

- a. buy superior, endurable command and control
- c. write contracted war options into preset war plans
- d. invite hostile observers into American command posts
- e. negotiate exchange of such observers
- g. try to persuade Soviets of advantage of sparing our C & C
- i. negotiate hot lines

AC-SM: 13

Promote safety precautions to prevent accidental war.

- a. put centrally released locks on weapons
- d. persuade the Soviets to adopt locks, lower alerts, adopt "wait and see" tactics

9. Space

9. Aggressive

Always act in your best interests. Deploy systems you believe useful; attack those you feel harmful; and defend yours, if necessary. A firm policy, asserting your right to use space "freely," but possibly denying his.



#### THE CARD DECK

The different sections of the alternative policy card file have their idiosyncrasies. First, the ordering principles vary with the subject matter. The European War, Specific Arms Control Measures, International System, Western Europe, and Space sections are simple collections of unanalyzed but reasonably comprehensive policy positions. Because of their completeness, they tend to be mutually exclusive alternatives, although this is not always the rule. Some choices, such as the "Promote area unifications" alternative in the International Systems area, are additive and can be used with a wide variety of the more comprehensive positions in their groups. Furthermore, it is possible to wish to follow two somewhat mutually exclusive policies at once in some areas. In this situation one can build complex policies by choosing several cards and indicating the weight to be assigned to each.

The Central War and Soviet Union sections are collections of comprehensive policies also, but these have been broken down with their component elements. Thus, on a Central War card will be found a set of objectives, a set of assumptions, a force posture, and recommended tactics. The Posture, or "Capabilities" division is absent from the Soviet Union cards, otherwise the arrangement is the same. These cards also tend to be mutually exclusive and should be handled like the sections described above.

In some policy-making areas, positions are not well established enough to make it possible to try to collect complete policy statements as we did in the sections described above. In such cases, the elements--Objectives, Purposes, Tactics, and Postures (capabilities)--were collected separately. Each such section differs. Objectives and Tactics only were collected for Foreign Policy toward the Third World; Objectives, Tactics and Postures for the Local War section. The Local War section contains a set of Area cards also. These allow the researcher to vary his Local War policy according to the importance or nature of different areas of the underdeveloped portion of the world if he wishes. The Arms Control section is perhaps more complex. It opens with a card on which you can express the major objectives of your arms control policy. The Arms Race Environment sub-section is divided into Purposes (immediate tactical objectives) and Tactics. This is followed by a section on Specific Arms Control Measures which is unitary. These many divisions allow the user to put together positions for himself in these three policy-making areas which are suited to the needs of his over-all strategy. The cards in these sections are more often additive than exclusive. However when several objectives are chosen in one policy area, it is usually necessary to indicate an order of priority, and multiple tactical choices sometimes need to be weighed according to the extent to which they count in the total tactical package as well. For example, to seek both the goal of preventing Communist intrusion into the Third World, and of carrying out policy in the Third World in a manner which strengthened U.N. influence there, but put a lower priority on the latter, one would choose both a tactic of intervening directly to oppose Communist advance, and of channeling activities in threatened areas through the U.N., but would indicate that the latter would be done only when it could be carried out without jeopardizing the higher priority goal.

Both the Local War and Arms Control sections have many cards with lists of options on them. If the question is one of how high the strategy will escalate, the user should indicate the highest threshold he is willing to cross in the given context. Where the card presents a collection of like goals or courses of action, the card is used by selecting all those options one is willing to pursue. On the cards presenting alternative methods of inspecting arms control agreements, the choices ordinarily are exclusive.

## AN OUTLINE OF U.S. POLICY ALTERNATIVES

### ALTERNATIVE WORLDS

#### Alpha<sub>1</sub>. Mostly Peaceful and Prosperous

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, relatively relaxed, ideologically discouraged, highly deterred.

Western Europe is united (including Britain), growing fast.

China is growing slack.

Japan is vigorous, armed.

Third areas relatively calm, achieving moderate growth rates.

U.S., U.S.S.R., Western Europe announce a no-cities nuclear policy.

#### Alpha<sub>2</sub>.

U.S.S.R. is rich, relaxed, a status quo power, cooperating extensively in economic projects administered by the U.N.

Western Europe is united (including Britain), growing fast. Germany, neutralized by East-West non-aggression pact in '69" is excluded from political aspects of union.

China, experiencing the opening stages of a "post-Stalinist" embourgeoisement, has agreed to bridle her foreign policy and accept the Soviet "no wars" doctrine in return for extensive Soviet aid.

Japan is prosperous, quiet, unthreatened, exerting leadership in its area.

Third areas are relatively calm benefiting from massive foreign aid programs supported by U.S., U.S.S.R., Western Europe, and Japan.

Inspected test ban includes France and China. Major nuclear powers announce no-cities nuclear policy, are under increasing pressure to reduce their military forces.

#### Beta<sub>1</sub>. Many Structural Stresses

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communist movement.

Peking competing vigorously for allegiance of bloc members, Asian Communist parties; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusionist policy discriminating against U.S. exports to Europe and compete for trade in third areas; have sophisticated, independent nuclear force.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

Third areas non-Communist, but poor, discouraged; some hysterical political movements (Congos, Castros, Nkrumahs).

#### Beta<sub>2</sub>.

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communism. Total break with Peking.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; six follow anti-American trade policy. France is prosperous, has sophisticated nuclear deterrent. Withdrawal of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces from the two Germanies. Internationalization of a United Berlin.

Peking has broken with Moscow, is openly competitive and anti-white, mounting threats against Thailand and Burma. Laos becomes satellite in '67."

Japan is prosperous, passive, introverted. No nuclear force.

Third Areas non-Communist, poor, discouraged. Indonesia firmly anti-Chinese.

Speculation by Soviet intellectual circles on the credibility of nuclear force against Chinese. U.S., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and France establish a body to consider problems of nuclear proliferation. China denounces it.

#### Gamma<sub>1</sub>. Extensive Multipolarity

Accelerated arms race; rapid diffusion of nuclear weapons systems.

U.S. reduces foreign expenditures (to close the foreign-exchange gap) by sharing nuclear weapons technology; gives nuclear weapons to Japan, India, Formosa, Australia, Turkey; China sells kiloton bombs to Israel; Britain revives independent deterrent.

U.S.S.R. increasingly deterred, shifting attention to Chinese threat.

Third areas unstable, mutually hostile.

Gamma<sub>2</sub>

Accelerated arms race; diffusion is accelerated by U.S. and U.S.S.R. decision to conduct extensive "Plowshare" operations. Possibility of anonymous nuclear war increasing.

Franco-German success with cheap simple and efficient nuclear devices raising anxiety in both U.S.S.R. and U.S. Japanese developed high-grade optical tracking equipment, begin preliminary negotiations with French and Germans to interchange technologies.

Soviet Union increasingly deterred, shifting attention to Chinese threat.

Third Areas unstable, mutually hostile.

U.S. reduces foreign expenditures. AICBM systems widely deployed. Extensive development work on bacteriological and nonlethal warfare as well as psychological weapons being carried out.

Delta<sub>1</sub>. Containment and Confrontation

Trend to disintegration of blocs reversed.

Soviet thrust in Berlin revives NATO, Western cohesion; Moscow regains international prestige, ascendancy over China.

Western Europe accepts integrated NATO nuclear force, abandons independent deterrents.

Heightened cold war competition in third areas.

Delta<sub>2</sub>

Trend to disintegration of blocs reversed. Soviet move to West Berlin succeeds. NATO cohesion is greater than previously as is Soviet bloc cohesion.

Nuclear sharing within NATO extensive. NATO a genuine nuclear power equal to the Soviet strategic force.

U.S.S.R. is not especially influential beyond its zone of occupation. China's neighbors fear and hate her.

Likelihood of war, nuclear and nonnuclear, is increased.

Epsilon<sub>1</sub>. Communism on the March

U.S.S.R. has seized West Berlin, signed East German peace treaty, threatens Iran, Afghanistan; once again dominates China.

Laos, South Vietnam have fallen to Communists; Cambodia teetering.

Japan neutralist, anti-American, hysterical; India, Indonesia, Burma sign tripartite "nonaggression" pacts with U.S.S.R., China.

Western European union strained; economic growth flagging; some revival of Communist voting strength in France, Italy, Benelux.

NATO conventional forces underequipped, understaffed; NATO nuclear force hampered by European dissention, wishful thinking.

#### Epsilon<sub>2</sub>

U.S.S.R. is relatively rich, deterred, discouraged, losing dominance over world Communist movement. The Sino-Soviet schism is very real.

Chinese press forward in Asia, mount a successful offensive against India in 1966. Himalayan states and Burma have become puppet governments. Chinese Communist prestige is high in Asia, Africa, Latin America (especially in countries with large Indian and Negro populations).

NATO continues to exist. The Berlin issue remains unresolved.

U.S. R&D emphasizing weapons useful against Chinese mass armies, guerrilla forces, and primitive nuclear weapons systems.

#### Theta<sub>1</sub>. Decline of Soviet Power

Soviet bloc has degenerated into a congeries of hostile states. Clashes occur along the Sino-Soviet border; anti-Soviet and nationalist feeling surfaces in Eastern Europe.

Bloc troubles have led to the shrinking of Soviet ambitions and to the development of strong nationalist-isolationist trends within U.S.S.R.

Peking aggressive, making strong bid to inherit leadership of international Communist movements; has low-grade nuclear force.

Britain excluded from E.E.C.; the six pursue a moderately anti-American, exclusivist economic policy and compete for trade in third areas, have fairly sophisticated independent nuclear force. They find the opportunities created by Soviet weakness interesting.

Japan developing independent nuclear deterrent in response to Chinese threat.

Third areas non-Communist, but poor, discouraged; some hysterical political movements (neo-Lumumbism).

### Theta<sub>2</sub>

Decline of Soviet authority, '68" agreement provides for U.S. reorganization of East Germany, withdrawal of Soviet troops behind post-war U.S.S.R. borders. U.S. to British and Icelandic bases. By '73" Soviet influences in the former satellites is minimal on all but defense and foreign policy. In the U.S.S.R. a rising revisionist tide leads to the reduction of the defense budget, rise in consumer-goods production.

Peking unable to succeed to the authority of Moscow in world Communist movement. Faith in Communism waning everywhere.

### Zeta<sub>1</sub>. Collapse of the Third World

Soviet Union is relatively rich, increasingly European, essentially unadventurous in foreign policy, attention largely taken up with extra-Bloc problems.

U.S. and Europe in economic slump, preoccupied with internal concerns. Isolationist trends in America.

Failure of world market for raw materials has triggered political and social collapse of third world. Situation characterized by political chaos, the failure of hope, and racism which combine to create Third World vulnerability to Chinese Communist influence.

China has broken with the U.S.S.R., and is pursuing aggressive foreign policy in third areas with strong "colored peoples vs. white peoples" bias.

### Zeta<sub>2</sub>

Left Sectarian factions dominate U.S.S.R. Seek to exploit political discontent in West and Europe, expansionist ambitions revived. U.S.S.R. and Peking compete for underdeveloped areas.

Western Europe favors dependent trade, bitter competition for markets between U.S. and E.E.C. Japan turns to Chinese markets.

Economic stagnation and political chaos in Afro-Asia; border clashes, unity of India threatened, civil war in Indonesia. Ceylon and Yemen centers of Communist subversion. French and German economic interests competing with U.S. in Latin America.

Africa is poor, resentful and dependent for foreign aid and technology on "white" world.

Neo-isolationist trends in U.S.

°

Eta<sub>1</sub>. Collapse of Europe

Soviet Bloc, reunited behind a newly aggressive Soviet Union, has taken West Berlin and now presses the West hard.

European unity movement has collapsed under economic recession, petty nationalism, Soviet resurgence, and Europe is torn by dissension as extremist factions both Left and Right gain influence. England has gone Neutralist, i.e., Third Force, and Bonn has made a treaty with East Germany; France is torn by civil war; Italy is under Left Socialist Communist coalition.

U.S. is neo-isolationist, relying on nuclear threats ("nuclear Gunboat Diplomacy") rather than diplomacy, foreign aid, or conventional forces to deny Western Europe, Latin America, and Afro-Asia to the Sino-Soviets. NATO is hobbled by European disunity.

Western influence in Latin America and Afro-Asia highly deteriorated. Third area nations, chaotic and unstable, take neutral positions and wait to see who will win.

Eta<sub>2</sub>

United States adopts policy of direct intervention. Alliances with "pro-American" states sought.

Threat of neo-Fascism in Europe, with France leading the trend. Ministerial decisions destroy the work of E.E.C., NATO, also ELDO, ESRO, EUROSPACE.

U.S. has committed ground forces in Taiwan, Philippines, Thailand, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, and the Congo. "Peace actions" have occurred in Haiti, Dominican Republic, British Guiana, Angola, and Iran.

U.S. has a doctrine of graduated nonnuclear reprisals against aggressive powers.

Iota<sub>1</sub>. Aggressive Germany A--Clerical Conservatism and Aggressive Free Enterprise

Alliance of conservative Catholics with Ruhr industrial interests rules in Germany. The government is disinterested in reunification with Protestant East Germany, but restless in NATO, which enjoys a barely technical existence anyway. A highly aggressive German nuclear and missile R&D program was begun secretly in 1968, although Germany has not yet dared to conduct open tests.

(If this card is chosen it should be combined with BETA<sub>2</sub>.)



Iota<sub>2</sub>. Aggressive Germany B--Resurgent Militarism

Germany, reunited at the price of "perpetual" neutralization and denuclearization, has fallen to a rightist-militarist putsch. The government has begun a significant conventional arms build-up, and is pushing a secret weapons development program. It aims to develop nuclear forces sufficient to psychologically neutralize Soviet nuclear forces while it carries on lower level actions against Eastern and Central Europe.

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have failed to intervene in support of this treaty.

(This card can be combined with THETA<sub>1</sub>, or with other worlds with a weak or irresolute Soviet Union.)

Iota<sub>3</sub>. Aggressive Germany C

A neo-Nazi Germany.

(If this card is chosen it should be combined with Gamma<sub>1</sub>.)

Kappa<sub>1</sub>. Aggressive Japan

Collapse of Japanese boom results in rebirth of right-wing ideologies. She has denounced U.S. treaty, is agitating for the return of territories lost to Russia after the war and is looking with interest toward the smaller states of Southeast Asia. An extensive R&D program in nuclear weapons, solid fuel delivery systems, and lasers is underway.

(This card can be combined as is with BETA<sub>1</sub>, ZETA<sub>1</sub>; or with THETA<sub>1</sub> with the following appendix:

With the decline of Soviet power, there is a revival of Japanese ambitions in the Maritime provinces, and especially in Manchuria and Northern China where she is confident of her ability to defeat an unaided China.)

Lambda<sub>1</sub>. "Write Your Own" World Cards

Answer each question for 1973.

The term anti-Communist here refers to the industrial or semi-industrial countries now allied with the U.S. (i.e., the countries of NATO and SEATO).

- 1) How unified is each of the present sides in the cold war?
- 2) How internally stable are the anti-Communist nations?

- 3) How internally stable are the Communist nations?
- 4) What is the relative East-West military-economic strength? This can be broken down into nuclear advantage, conventional advantage, guerrilla and para-military advantage, and military-economic potential.
- 5) What is the balance of resolve between East and West? Do some nations or blocs gain advantages because others feel they have a great deal of resolve? Are some nations or blocs at a disadvantage because they frequently back down, thus decreasing the credibility of their threats and the value of their promises?
- 6) How interventionist are the anti-Communist powers?
- 7) How aggressive are the Communist nations? What are the foreign policy aims of the Communists? What risks will they run to further these aims?
- 8) Have the neutrals allied themselves with the East, the West, or remained neutral?
- 9) To what extent have the underdeveloped areas achieved political-economic success?
- 10) To what extent are there conflicts that could lead to war between countries which are not major powers?
- 11) Has there been extensive rise of new powers? (Indicate your candidates.)
- 12) Has there been extensive realignment among powers and the rise of new alliances or blocs? (Indicate.)
- 13) How credible is the threat of the use of nuclear weapons? Have nuclear weapons become an accepted factor of bargaining in international relations?
- 14) How widespread is nuclear diffusion? Do many relatively minor states possess nuclear weapons?
- 15) To what extent are there structures (e.g., the U.N.) and processes (e.g., arbitration) which are used for the peaceful settlement of international disputes?
- 16) To what extent are there effective arms limitations, either through agreement or through reciprocated unilateral action?
- 17) How war-prone is the world?

## LOCAL WAR

### A. Areas

1. Latin America
2. The Far East
3. Southeast Asia (including India)
4. The Middle East
5. Sub-Saharan Africa
6. European Neutrals (Finland, Sweden, Austria)
7. Caribbean
8. Korea and Formosa
9. Japan
10. China
11. Indochina
12. India
13. Pakistan
14. The Northern Tier (Turkey, Iran, Iraq)
15. North Africa

### B. Objectives

1. Demonstrate United States involvement.
2. Help morale of victim.
3. Help control riots, attempts to overthrow government.
4. Help control major rebellions (counterinsurgency).
5. Exact a price from aggressor: Force him to cross one of the following thresholds:
  - a. Overt material aid to proxy
  - b. Major military effort by proxy
  - c. Overt military aid by aggressor
  - d. Major intervention by aggressor
  - e. Full-scale effort by aggressor
6. Punish attacker.
7. Deny ground to likely attacks from likely enemies.
8. Restore status quo.
9. Force attacker to surrender.
10. Regain military control of areas (like North Vietnam, China) now under Communist regimes.

C. Tactics

1. Ignore Local Wars. Be neutral.
2. Encourage alliances which have strength to defend themselves.
3. Give military aid to potential defenders so that they can defend themselves.
4. Retaliate politically against local aggression.
5. Use mobilization bases to deter local wars.

Respond to aggression by activating a mobilization base.

6. Deter Local War by indicating a willingness to escalate:

Threaten to:

- a. take it to the United Nations.
  - b. send aid.
  - c. send advisors.
  - d. provide tactical support.
  - e. send troops
  - f. enter the war officially.
  - g. mount a full-scale conventional effort.
  - h. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.
  - i. attack proxy's ZI.
  - j. attack major opponent's ZI.
7. Rely on United Nations, i.e., fight only if there is United Nations or other international decision. Indicate upper threshold we would cross, if necessary, to enforce such decisions:
    - a. send aid.
    - b. send advisors.
    - c. provide tactical support.
    - d. send troops.
    - e. mount a full-scale conventional effort.
    - f. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.
    - g. attack proxy's ZI.
    - h. attack major opponent's ZI.
  8. Promise to fight any aggressor. Indicate highest threshold we would cross, if necessary, in order to achieve our objective:
    - a. take it to the United Nations.
    - b. send aid.
    - c. send advisors.
    - d. provide tactical support.
    - e. send troops.
    - f. enter the war officially.
    - g. mount a full-scale conventional effort.

- h. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.
  - i. attack proxy's ZI.
  - j. attack major opponent's ZI.
9. Fight only where conditions provide a high probability of United States success. Indicate highest threshold we would cross, if necessary, in order to achieve our objective:
- a. take it to the United Nations.
  - b. send aid.
  - c. send advisors.
  - d. provide tactical support.
  - e. send troops.
  - f. enter the war officially.
  - g. mount a full-scale conventional effort.
  - h. initiate the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary.
  - i. attack proxy's ZI.
  - j. attack major opponent's ZI.
10. Take advantage of weaknesses of the opponent (i.e., revolt in China, East European rebellion) to the following extent:
- a. demonstrate United States involvement.
  - b. help morale of insurgents.
  - c. help fighting of insurgents by "clandestine" aid.
  - d. supply enough material aid to utilize available forces.
  - e. intervene enough to cancel Soviet Union intervention.
  - f. intervene enough to achieve high probability of success.

#### D. Postures

- 1. Be prepared to use up to 3 divisions at one time in local wars.
- 2. Be prepared to use up to 10 divisions at one time in local wars.
- 3. Procure air, sea, and land arms for local wars. (This is primarily a matter of spending money for General Purpose Forces which are thought not to be useful for central war.)
- 4. Nuclear capability. This card is limited to a capability designed to deter enemy use of tactical nuclears. It implies that we prefer to fight nonnuclear.
- 5. Nuclear force. This card implies a posture consistent with the initiation of the use of nuclears in a local war situation and that we make some nontrivial sacrifices in the training, equipping, and operation of our local war forces in order to give them a good nuclear capability.
- 6. Use overseas basing for some Local War forces.

We assume that the choice between overseas and ZI basing--i.e., more precisely, the choice of the proper mix--is primarily a matter of four factors:

- (1) for a given effectiveness, including transport to front, ZI basing will be more expensive;
- (2) reliance on overseas basing imposes at least potential political and other costs to maintain the security of the bases;
- (3) for at least some situations overseas basing will give some capabilities (e.g., very fast reaction) that cannot be matched by ZI basing; and
- (4) there may be political advantages to some overseas basing.

If you put this card in your policy package, it means that you are generally more impressed by the aspects of these four factors which are favorable toward overseas basing, i.e., that you "lean toward" a preference for overseas basing.

7. Good airlift. Obviously here there is a spectrum of possibilities. (Some of which might involve other special rapid transport for local war forces.) Assume roughly currently programmed Local War force transport and only include this card in your "package" if you would substantially increase our capability. In other words include this card if you think that it is important to give a heavy emphasis to the ability to rapidly transport large Local War forces.
8. Guerrilla or special forces. These are not necessarily clandestine forces. They are forces which fight behind enemy lines or against enemy guerrillas (behind friendly lines), in small numbers. They would have special training and would be able to operate with very austere supply.
9. CASF (Composite Air Strike Force). Special air force unit designed for quick overseas deployment as a unit to participate in Local War.
10. STRICOM. Special ground force divisions which can be quickly deployed overseas--this card indicates a desire for ground forces with very superior firepower and mobility which can be in action in special areas of the world within a few days. Includes Army (ARSTRIKE) and Air Force (AFSTRIKE) units.
11. Stockpiles overseas. This card indicates a desire to have one's cake and eat it--the troops can be in the ZI but heavy equipment can be stockpiled in areas close to the zones of potential danger. Armored division equipment and artillery in the Philippines, the Middle East, etc.--so heavy infantry and armored outfits can be flown in at rates close to that of airborne units.

12. Native armies. Help some non-Communist countries arm themselves so that they can better defend themselves. See also LW-P:13.
13. Local "infrastructure." In lieu of some or all arming of native forces do you want to do things that will make it more possible for us to intervene effectively on behalf of various countries. This would involve things like improving local airfields and perhaps increasing the compatibility of the training and equipment of local forces with that of U.S. forces.

#### EUROPEAN WAR

1. Use strategic deterrent to prevent any serious threat against Europe.  
Small conventional forces (low trip wire).  
"Tactical nuclear: available only for symbolic or threatening use."
2. Use strategic deterrent to prevent large (10-30 div.) scale conventional and any nuclear attack on Europe.  
Moderate conventional forces (high trip wire).  
"Tactical nuclear: available only for symbolic or threatening use."
3. Use strategic deterrent to prevent large (30 div.) conventional attack on Europe.  
Moderate forces (high trip wire) capable of defeating attacks through the size of a large probe, whether nuclear or conventional.
4. Use strategic deterrent to prevent any use of nuclears.  
Large conventional forces, e.g., about 30 divisions on central front, plus reserves.  
"Tactical nuclear: available only for symbolic or threatening use," conventional deployment.
5. Use strategic deterrent to prevent any use of nuclears.  
Large conventional forces (e.g., about 30 good divisions on central front, plus good reserves).  
Battlefield nuclear weapons available. Logistics, training, etc. for battlefield use of nuclear weapons, if initiated by enemy.  
Rear (including rear air defense) nuclear vulnerable.
6. Use strategic deterrent to prevent use of nuclears except on battlefield.  
Large forces (e.g., 30 divisions on central front, plus reserves) capable of fighting with nuclears.  
Battlefield nuclear weapons available. Logistics, training, etc. for battlefield use of nuclear weapons, if initiated by enemy.  
Rear (include rear air defense) nuclear vulnerable.

7. No reliance on strategic deterrent against invasion.  
Large, completely nuclear capable, forces; designed to defend Europe against any size invasion and to cope with and match any use of nuclears (i.e., hardened rear).  
Plans are not to initiate use of nuclears.
8. No reliance on strategic deterrence against invasion.  
Moderately large, nuclear dependent forces.  
Prepared to cope with and match any use of nuclears (i.e., hardened rear).  
Primary training and deployment based on nuclears.  
Must use nuclears to stop large conventional force.

#### CENTRAL WAR

##### 1. Minimum Deterrence Only

Objectives: Conserve scarce resources. Stabilize deterrence by being clearly nonaggressive. Slow down arms race. Reduce likelihood of accidents. Limit damage done by U.S. weapons if war occurs inadvertently.

Assumptions: A small probability that almost any kind of nuclear retaliation would be forthcoming at all is adequate to deter the Soviets. Most of the motivation for the arms race is due to self-fulfilling prophecies and action-reaction mechanisms. A unilateral arms reduction is therefore both safe and likely to bring about similar reciprocal actions.

Capabilities: Small, not particularly invulnerable, nuclear force; no surviving command and control except possibly a "go ahead" order; pretargeting against countervalue targets; no passive or active defense. (More sophisticated versions might have somewhat greater flexibility or war capability.)

Tactics: Threaten retaliation if U.S. were to be struck. If attacked, respond in a single retaliatory spasm with total surviving force.

##### 2. Finite Deterrence Only

Objectives: Conserve resources, stabilize deterrence, slow down arms race, reduce likelihood of accidents, and limit damage if war should occur. At the same time, provide enough Type I Deterrence so U.S. can reply to an extreme provocation with an appropriate reprisal without much risk of an "eruption."

Assumptions: Adequate Type I Deterrence requires an inexorable retaliation which would destroy 50 (10-200) cities. Most of the motivation for the arms race is due to self-fulfilling prophecies



and action-reaction mechanisms. If the remainder of our forces are well protected and large enough to insure the above retaliation, unilateral arms reduction moves on our side will be safe and are likely to bring about similar reciprocal actions.

Capabilities: Small to moderate-size force. All weapons carefully hardened, mobile, or otherwise protected. No war-controlling capability. Pretargeting against countervalue targets. Little or no selective firing.

Tactics: Threaten a countervalue retaliation with surviving weapons if U.S. or major forces are struck. Respond in this manner if struck.

### 3. Mostly Finite Deterrence

Objectives: Conserve resources, stabilize deterrence, slow down the arms race, reduce likelihood of accidents, and limit damage if war should occur. At the same time, gain some Improved War Outcome capacity and a capability for graduated deterrence.

Assumptions: A little addition of war capable forces for Improved War Outcome will not lead to an arms race or instability, while the extra flexibility may be necessary to prevent inadvertent war.

Capabilities: A countervalue targeted Finite Deterrence force plus a small addition of war capable forces.

Tactics: Threaten a countervalue retaliation with surviving weapons if U.S. or major forces are struck. If Type I deterrence fails, fight a controlled war, as far as your capability permits. In last resort, retaliate countervalue.

### 4. Contingent Homicide

Objectives: To have so impressive a Type I Deterrent that no provocation could justify the other side's pressing buttons.

Assumptions: If deterrence is to be really reliable, a stark picture of total and inevitable annihilation that cannot be misunderstood by any conceivable decision-maker must be presented.

Capabilities: A countervalue targeted Finite Deterrent five to ten times larger than the moderate level.

Tactics: Threaten a countervalue retaliation with surviving weapons if U.S. or major forces are struck. Respond in this manner if struck.

### 5. War Stopping Deterrence

Objectives: Make the force so invulnerable and so overwhelming that its ability to overkill the enemy cannot be diminished by arms races,

technical breakthroughs, or ingenious tactics. To be able to fight a controlled war through any number of rounds and still retain such a capacity for retaliation that it pays the enemy to stop the war rather than risk a spasm response.

Assumptions: The overwhelming character of this force will both make the other side very careful, and exempt us from the kinds of pressures, anxieties, which may lead to nuclear accidents. Therefore, the possibility of inadvertent war will be greatly reduced.

Capabilities: Very large, very well-protected forces, some survivable command and control, some active and passive defenses.

Tactics: Reply to any attack in a reprisal-tailored-to-provocation fashion.

#### 6. Deterrence Plus Insurance

Objectives: To have a strategic alternative to making a large-scale countervalue attack if deterrence fails. To be able to fight in a calculated manner aimed at limiting damage and ending the war acceptably, with some surety that nation will survive it as a nation.

Assumptions: The threat to make a war fighting response to an attack is more credible than the threat of a countervalue retaliation, because the second is essentially a promise to commit suicide, while the first is not. Either type of deterrence, however, may fail, and therefore we had better be prepared to fight a war.

An attacker, faced with a limited countervalue retaliation plus a blackmail threat, or a constrained counterforce attack which tips the military balance against him, will probably react rationally and choose to negotiate rather than strike again.

Capabilities: Invulnerable force small to moderate in size; good survivable command and control; flexible targeting, selective release; active and passive defense, i.e., good war capable forces.

Tactics: Threaten countervalue retaliation if U.S. is attacked. If Type I Deterrence fails, fight a controlled war, using a combination of countervalue exemplary and constrained counterforce attacks and blackmail to persuade enemy to accept a reasonable peace treaty.

#### 7. Deterrence by Reprisal (Or Warning)

Objectives: To improve deterrence. To have a strategic alternative to making a large-scale countervalue attack if deterrence should fail. To limit damage if war should occur by increasing the likelihood that war will be controlled. To stop any war with dispatch and in a manner which will make it clear to opponent that he would have done better not to start it.

Assumptions: Deterrence can be improved by making it depend more on "warning" than on "threat." In war, the warning that we will retaliate on a tit-for-tat fashion is likely to motivate our opponent to fight in a controlled manner. After experiencing controlled retaliation, opponents will probably be willing to reconsider and settle for termination of the war at status quo ante if the choice is offered.

Capabilities: Invulnerable force moderate in size; high-level survivable command and control, flexible targeting, selective release, adequate active and passive defense; somewhat higher level of war fighting capability than Deterrence plus Insurance.

Tactics: Threaten a tit-for-tat reprisal or possible under-reprisal to any kind of attack that the other side makes at the same time announcing that one is willing to call the war off on the basis of status quo ante. Announce this policy ahead of time so that both the action and declaratory policies are identical.

#### 8. Expanded Insurance

Objectives: To have a strategic alternative to making a large-scale countervalue attack. To be able to fight a calculated war. To be able to mount a disarming first strike if extreme circumstances should require it. To be able to escalate in crises without fear of provoking a strategic attack.

Assumptions: A war fighting response is a more credible threat than a countervalue retaliation. Deterrence may fail and we should therefore be prepared to fight a war. The enemy is likely to react rationally to proper war controlling tactics. It is possible, however, that we may be faced with a "madman," or with a government made desperate by the course of a crisis and a preventive or pre-emptive strike will be necessary.

Capabilities: Some first-strike disarming capability; considerable protected second-strike forces; good survivable command and control; retargeting capability and selective release; "good looking" active and passive defense.

Tactics: Threaten countervalue retaliation if U.S. is struck. Respond to extreme Soviet provocation or news of Soviet decision to strike with a disarming first strike. Fight controlled war, emphasis on disarming Soviet offensive forces, if she strikes first.

#### 9. Pure Massive Retaliation

Objectives: Deter extreme Soviet provocations against U.S. interests, such as a large-scale attack on Europe.

Assumptions: Possibility that an all-out countervalue attack may be forthcoming is sufficient to deter not only strategic nuclear attack

on the U.S. but also actions short of this to which the U.S. has announced it will make that response. The credibility of this threat can be reinforced if we commit our honor sufficiently and provide ourselves no visible alternative.

Capabilities: Force large enough to do major damage to the Soviet Union on a first strike, hedged against a disarming strike by hardening and large size; no particular command and control beyond go signal; pretargeted to countervalue targets, all or nothing, go-no go weapons release; no active or passive defense.

Tactics: Threaten massive countervalue first strike if sufficiently provoked. Threaten massive countervalue retaliation if U.S. were to be struck. Respond in this manner if U.S. is struck or if Russia begins a major war in Europe or on some other part of the world.

10. Not Incredible Massive Retaliation

Objectives: To deter extreme Soviet provocations against U.S. interests (Type II Deterrence). To have enough appearance of control and the possibility of survival to prevent the resolution of the decision-maker from being shaken by counterretaliation calculations. To reduce reliance on Massive Retaliation.

Assumptions: In order for Type II Deterrence to work, it is necessary not only to have the capability of inflicting nuclear devastation on one's enemy, but also to make the promise to use it in response to a major provocation short of outright invasion, credible. As long as it is starkly obvious, from war plan calculation, that everyone will be killed in a counterretaliation, this threat will not be effective. However, small additions of counterforce war controlling and defensive capabilities will be sufficient to allow us to look convinced to ourselves and to the enemy, that we will strike as we promise, and raise the credibility of our threat to a safe level.

Capabilities: Force large enough to do major damage to the Soviet Union on a first strike, hedged against a disarming strike by hardening and large size. Just enough survivable command and control, targeting and release flexibility, and defenses to make the calculations that we might be able to escape unacceptable devastation in a war look plausible.

Tactics: Threaten both countervalue spasm and controlled counterforce strikes if provoked. Carry through only the latter and follow through with appropriate controlled response tactics.

11. Credible First Strike

Objectives: Highly credible Type II Deterrence. Conspicuous ability to disarm the Soviet Union on a first strike to a level at which they are no longer capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on us.

Assumptions: It is possible to procure and maintain the capability to reduce enemy forces to a level at which he can no longer deliver starkly unacceptable damage against the U.S.A. In any case, the threat of such a strike is credible, and can be used to deter major provocations.

Capabilities: Force large and flexible enough to disarm Soviets on a first strike, invulnerable component of respectable size for Type I Deterrence and second-strike war fighting; good survivable command and control; flexible targeting and selective release.

Tactics: Threaten appropriate type of counterattack and reprisal if U.S. is struck. Threaten to respond with a disarming attack if sufficiently provoked. Launch a disarming attack if extremely provoked.

## 12. Not Incredible Counterforce First Strike

Objectives: Prevent strategic attack on the U.S. and major provocation against U.S. interests. Be prepared to fight and win or stalemate a nuclear war if it should come. Limit damage to "acceptable" levels if war starts with U.S. first strike.

Assumptions: Threat of countervalue retaliation will not deter the Soviets from anything except a strategic attack on our territory, because it is an incredible response to any lesser provocation. A full-fledged disarming capability cannot be maintained. However, the Soviets are likely to react rationally to controlled war tactics. Presented with a carefully limited countervalue strike and a blackmail threat to increase the damage if they retaliate, or with a partially disarming strike which tips the military balance against them, they will prefer to negotiate terms rather than continue the war. Therefore, the threat to react in this way to a major provocation is credible and can be used to deter such action.

Capabilities: Force capable of attacking in such a manner as to tip the military balance against the Soviet Union on either a first or second strike, hardened so as to make equivalent Soviet attempt futile; excellent survivable command and control. Excellent retargeting capability and complete selectivity of response.

Tactics: Threaten to fight an appropriate controlled war if seriously provoked or attacked. If struck or provoked, fight in a controlled manner, using a mixture of exemplary attacks, limited countervalue strikes, and constrained or unmodified disarming attacks, plus blackmail.

## 13. Contingent Preventive War

Objectives: To be able to carry out a Preventive War, and use the threat of doing so to regulate or limit Soviet behavior.

Assumptions: There are alternatives worse than a thermonuclear war.

Capabilities: Build best disarming capability possible. Supplement this by buying the kind of survivable control and targeting flexibility which will make it possible to outfight the enemy and achieve by negotiation and blackmail what can not be achieved by force.

Tactics: In the event of unacceptable Soviet behavior, project future Soviet actions and calculate the losses involved in accepting the result, compared with the probable losses from an appropriate disarming attack accompanied by a peace offer. If the calculation favors attack, do so.

#### 14. Arms Control Through Defense

Objectives: To establish, in a manner involving an arms control arrangement, a peaceful strategy with high stability, which is still highly effective against new nuclear powers. To insure ourselves against the ill consequences of an opponent's cheating.

Assumptions: A marked improvement in defensive capabilities will come about in the near future. This will make it possible for strategically advanced powers to absorb small to medium size nuclear attacks without suffering disastrous effects. Consequently, we will be willing to take greater strategic risks, and disarmament agreements will look safer and more acceptable both to ourselves and to the Soviet Union. It will also make us invulnerable to blackmail attempts of small nuclear powers.

Capabilities: A limited number of missiles, possibly enough to make the destruction of five to ten large cities of the opponent moderately certain. In addition, highly adequate and effective action and passive defense, able to absorb the shock if the opponent's attack were unexpectedly great.

Tactics: Make effective defensive capabilities the basis of an arms control treaty.

#### 15. Defense is Dominant

Objectives: To achieve complete superiority, or at least escalation dominance, through the ability to neutralize effectively almost any nuclear attack that the enemy might make.

Assumptions: Owing to our better facilities and our greater spending on research and development, the United States will be able to achieve the necessary scientific and technological breakthroughs earlier than the Soviet Union, thus gaining a significant advantage.

Capabilities: Very large civil defense program, almost fool-proof anti-bomber defense, effective AICBM's; very fast missiles, laser beams, and neutron bombs which can cause a chain reaction in subcritical masses of fissionable material in nuclear warheads. The defense

system must also include effective anti-submarine warfare, and protection against fancy offense systems such as orbital bombs, tidal wave generators, extremely large "dirty" bombs, and attacks with infrared and other radiation.

Tactics: If Assurance is great enough, a real or imagined military advantage might be used, as the A-bomb and H-bomb monopolies were not, to enforce a favorable peace treaty with disarmament guarantees, etc.

#### 16. Strategy as Currency (SC)

Objectives: To create a convincing nuclear facade, in order to gain weight in alliance, impress enemies, and gain prestige among our own people.

Assumptions: Nuclear war is highly unlikely, particularly if one has the deterring appearance of being able to fight such a war. The possession of a nuclear force will, in itself, buy an improved political position, regardless of whether the force is a practical tool of war or not.

Capabilities: Buy enough forces to look good; buy objective effectiveness if inexpensive--but do not make political sacrifices or compromises to obtain same.

Tactics: Exploit nuclear capability for political position. Do not expect to use it.

### ARMS CONTROL

#### 1. Objectives

- a. Reduce the likelihood and the destructiveness of war
- b. Save money
- c. Other \_\_\_\_\_  
(indicate your choices and their priorities)

### ARMS RACE ENVIRONMENT

#### A. Purposes

1. To set a good example, break the vicious circle of fear--armament race--war--fear, and create an international atmosphere conducive to disarmament and peace.
2. To put control of nuclear weapons into the hands of international organization (in short run, or in long run).



3. To reduce Soviets' suspicions of western motives, relax the cold war atmosphere so as to create a more favorable environment for negotiation, both for arms control and political settlement as well.
4. To open up Soviet society further to Western influences.
5. To create arms control precedents which may be useful in future negotiations with the Soviets.
6. To slow down, halt, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Keep nuclear power in hands of responsible major powers.
7. To convince the third areas and our allies that we are honestly pursuing arms control and that the Soviets are obstructing it.
8. To improve our strategic position vis à vis the Russians, through arms control manipulation.
9. To prevent the Soviet Union from exploiting world desire for arms control in order to gain strategic or political advantage over us. To gain reasonable assurance that arms control agreements will not be exploited by the Soviet Union strategically.

#### B. Tactics

1. Start the Ball Rolling. Disarm completely (or to nonnuclear level). Count on example to carry or influence the rest of the world.
2. Trust. Accept appropriate Soviet arms control proposals in good faith. Run large risks if it really expedites obtaining agreement.
3. Unilateral Moves. Take unilateral arms control steps. Watch Soviets for reaction. If they respond in kind, take further arms control step. If they do not respond, or seem to be trying to take advantage of move, either fail to continue, or retract the earlier step.
4. Make War "Unthinkable." Reduce probability of war and increase desire for arms control by convincing Soviets and ourselves of nuclear war's Horror. Publicize pessimistic predictions of its effects, and adopt all or nothing postures which, if invoked, would fulfill these predictions.

Resist any attempt to make war "feasible."

5. International Police Force. Promote the expansion of United Nations policing activities; aim at the eventual creation of a full-fledged nuclear international police force.
6. Study Groups. Promote conferences where Soviet and American experts involved in strategic planning can exchange strategic



concepts, and we can pass on the new strategic trends with arms control overtones (such as hardening, centrally operated locks on weapons, city avoiding and war controlling tactics).

7. Pragmatic. Approach Soviet arms control proposals with an open mind. Accept those that seem to offer a real measure of arms control, without making requirements irrelevant to this immediate end. Advance proposals ourselves which we think would offer a real measure of arms control if accepted.
8. Gradual Disarmament. Press for the creation and acceptance of a carefully staged disarmament plan, providing for careful inspection and confirmation after each step, before the next is taken.
9. Flexible Inspection. Tailor inspection according to risk. Don't enter into any agreement in which there is:
  - a. a large risk of national disaster
  - b. a moderate risk that the nation will find itself in serious trouble
  - c. even a small risk of national trouble if cheating is not caught
10. Rigid Inspection. Have a preset policy on inspection:
  - a. Do not demand inspection--accept agreements on good faith.
  - b. Require token inspection for principle's sake.
  - c. Require a high enough level of inspection to make opponents uneasy about cheating.
  - d. Require high enough level of inspection so that the individual arms control measure will pay off on a probability basis (i.e., value of agreement kept x probability that cheating will be detected, cost to us of opponent's cheating x probability that cheating will go undetected).
  - e. Require a very high probability that cheating will be detected.
  - f. Require absolute certain knowledge that agreement is being carried out.
11. Inspection Personnel. Favor inspection by:
  - a. neutral nations
  - b. United Nations
  - c. committees of adversaries
  - d. American officials only
12. Precedent Setting. Approach present arms control negotiations with concern for setting precedents which may be useful later. (For example: insist on inspection to establish the principle, even where it may not be entirely necessary to the policing of a specific agreement.)
13. Tit for Tat. Insist on reciprocity. Accept one of Soviet arms control proposals only if they accept one of ours.

14. Bargaining. Bargain for arms control. Offer the Soviets concessions in other areas in return for adherence to arms control agreements; tie our cooperation in negotiations initiated by the Soviets to their arms control cooperation.
15. Implicit Agreement. Cultivate implicit arms control understandings. Don't worry too much about getting formal agreement or formal verification. Depend on intelligence and use of denunciation to prevent trouble.
16. Crisis Manipulation. Be prepared to press hard for appropriate arms control agreement just after crisis, when fear of the consequences of allowing the present arms situation to continue have been aroused, and nations are therefore more receptive.
17. Restrain Nuclear Diffusion. Take steps to slow, prevent, or reverse nuclear diffusion. Be willing to use:
  1. noncooperation and persuasion
  2. diplomatic pressure
  3. political pressure
  4. economic pressure
  5. military force

to accomplish this. (Indicate what threshold you think we should cross.)
18. Pressure Tactics. Make the Soviet bloc more anxious for arms control by indicating a willingness to step up arms race, to allow crisis to escalate, or to use nuclear weapons.
19. Suspicion. Treat Soviet arms control offers skeptically. Assume they are attempting to gain political or military advantages with their proposals.
20. Propaganda Seeking. Make arms control proposals and react to those of the Russians in the manner which will, to our best calculations, give us the greatest propaganda advantage. See arms control negotiations largely as an opportunity to create propaganda, injure the other side's image, and so on.
21. Exploitation. Use the widespread feeling for arms control to try to persuade the Soviets to accept agreements which will put them at a greater strategic disadvantage.

#### SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL TACTICS

1. Take unilateral force limitation or reduction measures.
  - a. self-imposed budgetary limit
  - b. self-imposed force ceiling
  - c. unilateral force reductions

- d. turn U.S. nuclear weapons over to U.N.
  - e. total unilateral nuclear disarmament
  - f. disarm down to police force level
2. Press for multilateral force limitations or reduction measures.
- a. budget limitations on military spending
  - b. nuclear force ceilings
  - c. nuclear force cuts
  - d. surrender of all nuclear weapons to U.N. police force
  - e. universal nuclear disarmament
  - f. complete and universal disarmament down to police force level
3. Unilaterally adopt procurement restraints on:
- a. doomsday machines
  - b. chemical and biological weapons
  - c. gigaton warheads
  - d. orbital bombs
  - e. civil defense
  - f. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Press for multilateral ban (explicit or implicit) on procurement of certain weapons systems.
- a. chemical and biological weapons
  - b. gigaton warheads
  - c. orbital bombs
  - d. civil defense
  - e. \_\_\_\_\_
5. Unilaterally adopt R&D restraints--No:
- a. doomsday machine
  - b. chemical and biological weapons
  - c. gigaton warheads
  - d. orbital bombs
  - e. nuclear testing
  - f. AICBM
  - g. radical new systems
  - h. \_\_\_\_\_
6. Press for multilateral agreement (explicit or implicit) to adopt R&D restraints--No:
- a. doomsday machine
  - b. chemical and biological weapons
  - c. gigaton warheads
  - d. orbital bombs
  - e. nuclear testing
  - f. AICBM
  - g. radical new systems
  - h. \_\_\_\_\_

7. Unilaterally announce deployment restraints. Renounce the deployment of:
  - a. weapons in space
  - b. weapons in foreign countries
  - c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts
  - d. \_\_\_\_\_
8. Press for multilateral restrictions on deployment. Agree to put No:
  - a. weapons in space
  - b. weapons in foreign countries
  - c. tactical nuclear weapons on fronts
  - d. weapons in designated "disengaged areas"
  - e. \_\_\_\_\_
9. Adopt certain tactical restraints unilaterally.
  - a. no first use
  - b. no cities
  - c. avoidance counterforce targeting
  - d. controlled war tactics
  - e. no evacuation
  - f. \_\_\_\_\_
10. Press for multilateral agreement to adopt certain tactical restraints.
  - a. no first use
  - b. no cities
  - c. avoidance counterforce targeting
  - d. no evacuation
  - e. \_\_\_\_\_
11. Take steps to stabilize deterrence.
  - a. adopt a non-first-strike sustaining posture
  - b. harden our forces
  - c. educate the Soviets to harden their forces
  - d. keep war "unfeasible" by refusing to adopt certain strategic plans or to procure in a manner which would reduce its destructiveness
  - e. encourage the Soviets to stay with a straightforward Type I countervalue deterrence strategy, too.
  - f. \_\_\_\_\_
12. Take unilateral procurement steps and/or work for agreements which will increase the possibility of keeping nuclear war under control, and facilitate its termination.
  - a. buy superior, enduring command and control
  - b. adopt C & C avoiding tactics
  - c. write controlled war options into preset war plans
  - d. invite hostile observers into American command posts
  - e. negotiate exchange of such observers

- f. try to persuade Soviets of advantages of buying high-powered command and control
  - g. try to persuade Soviets of advantage of sparing our C & C
  - h. try to persuade Soviets to adopt central war tactics
  - i. negotiate hot lines
13. Promote safety precautions to prevent accidental war.
- a. put centrally released locks on weapons
  - b. make forces less alert
  - c. adopt "wait and evaluate" tactics for second strike
  - d. persuade Soviets to adopt locks, lower alerts, adopt "wait and see" tactics
  - e. \_\_\_\_\_
14. Press for anti-"surprise attack" measures.
- a. reciprocal overflights
  - b. reciprocal basing or manning of radar lines (to look backwards)
  - c. reciprocal special surveillance teams which can be invited to inspect key facilities in times of intense crisis by the host government
  - d. reciprocal observers at rail and road centers, major ports to check for troop movement
  - e. reciprocal observers in strategic command and control posts
  - f. offer privileges described in b, c, d, e, to the Soviets unilaterally (circle those favored)

#### FOREIGN POLICY -- INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS

1. Sovereignty Maximizing. Reduce to the unavoidable minimum America's political relationships with and economic dependency upon other nations. Withdraw from alliances and limit participation in international organizations of a political nature. Seek economic autarky. And discourage American Business activity abroad. In general, attempt to make America a closed and self-sufficient entity.
2. Spheres of Influence. Accept realities of great power preponderance. Work out modus vivendi with Soviet Union based on agreements that each will confine its activities and influence to definite geographic areas from which the other will withdraw. By so defining the vital interests of both, attempt to eliminate the sources of future conflict.
3. Concert of Powers. Aim to solve international problems by Great Power understandings and the cooperative enforcement of the policies arising from those understandings on the rest of the world. Direct policy toward settling disputes, establishing respective areas of great power influence, and coordinating interests with the Soviets in order to form the basis for this government of the powerful.
4. Status Quo-Instrumental. No immediate program for serious changes in the present world order. Policy toward international institutions determined primarily by calculations of national interest and the requirements of national security.

5. Wilsonian Improved Nation-State System. Promote international lawfulness by word and example. Attempt to increase the reliability of collective security and vigorously support U.N. decisions to evoke existing collective security arrangements.

Reduce strains on international law and its collective enforcement by eliminating injustices caused by the frustration of the desires of peoples for national self-determination.

6. Gradual-Development Internationalist. Aim at developing world government, but expect this to be a long process which will depend on the gradual convergence of the value systems and the governmental ideals of different people, and the slow development of international organizations.

Promote cultural and technical exchange; be willing to incur some risks and costs in the development of international law and international institutions.

7. Strengthen U.N. Try to increase strength and importance of U.N. as organization with independent power. Coordinate American policy with U.N. decisions, submit our disputes to U.N. decision-making processes, participate in these processes in a manner calculated to strengthen the U.N. role rather than simply benefit U.S. interests--and support U.N. decisions with armed force. Aim at building a U.N. powerful enough to take over some real functions of international government and peace-keeping.

8. Area Unification. Act to encourage the establishment of unified governments in geographically and culturally amenable areas. Expect this to help stabilize international policies by clearly staking out areas of influence, eliminating power vacuums, permanently settling questions of geographic control and political dominance, creating powerful and viable units which are not attractive to aggressors.

9. Divide the World Deal. Try to reach arrangement with the U.S.S.R. under which the U.S. and the Soviet Union would control the world.

10. Democratic World Federalism. Place hopes for the solution of problems of international relations in the creation, in the near future, of a democratic federation of nations, constructed much on the lines of our federal system, with an effective but limited central government and a high degree of local self-government. Bend all power and influence, and subordinate national policy, to the achievement of this goal.

11. American Empire. Make a conscious drive for world domination. Use American economic activity, governmental and private, as an instrument by which to establish our influence over underdeveloped areas. Be prepared to step in and take over the administration of countries which have proven their inability adequately to govern themselves. Look for an opportunity to attack and defeat the U.S.S.R. and then to enforce peace on the world by virtue of U.S. nuclear predominance.

## FOREIGN POLICY -- "THIRD WORLDS"

### A. Objectives

1. To improve the welfare of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, with no ulterior motives.
2. To "uplift" the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, educate them, modernize their social institutions (may include Christianizing them).
3. To carry out a policy in the third areas which will contribute to the strengthening of international institutions and the further development of international law as a force.

To advance the underdeveloped countries in a manner which will make them capable of fulfilling membership in a world government successfully.

4. To carry out the principles of national self-determination by doing away with the last vestiges of colonialism.
5. To create the "preconditions" for democracy in the underdeveloped areas.
6. To strengthen existing democratic governments in the uncommitted areas, support them against internal opposition and protect them from external threats. To establish democratic governments where they are not already existing.
7. To create and support stable, moderate governments in the underdeveloped areas, develop governments which are capable of managing their country's affairs effectively and in a moderately forward-looking manner.
8. To halt tendencies toward state socialism and encourage private free enterprise in the underdeveloped areas. To insure that these states develop in the traditions of individualism and freedom, rather than drifting toward totalitarianism.
9. To bring about the rise of political systems in the uncommitted areas which are sympathetic to American ideals and share our long-term national interests, such as restraining totalitarianism and achieving a free and peaceful world. Strengthen trends favoring long-range American security and preservation of American way of life.
10. To raise the standard of living and improve social conditions of the peoples of the uncommitted areas, thus reducing susceptibility to various forms of totalitarianism, including Communism.
11. Prevent any further Communist intrusion into the third areas:



strengthen local will and ability to resist Communism

prepare ground legally, politically, and technically so that U.S. military aid can function effectively.

12. Protect American interests in the third areas.
13. Avoid involvement in any great power conflicts over the uncommitted nations and in petty quarrels among uncommitted nations themselves. Minimize U.S. responsibility and keep the nation out of trouble.
14. Retain what is left of Western social, political, and economic dominance in the underdeveloped areas, and perhaps reassert it somewhat in areas where it has been degraded.

To keep the role and influence of the new countries in international affairs restricted to a level proportionate to their minor status.

#### B. Tactics

1. Disinterested Generosity. Mount a very large program of economic aid, perhaps amounting to 10 or 20% of the GNP, allocated on the dual basis of need and ability to employ aid productively. Back economic aid up with a very large peace-corp-style technical assistance effort. Make no attempt to derive any political advantage from program.

2. International Order Promoting. Channel activities concerning the uncommitted nations through international institutions.

Let international bodies determine action or disputes in the underdeveloped areas and participate in such decision-making in a large-minded, disinterested fashion.

Channel aid through a U.N. organization.

Encourage role of neutrals as moderating third force and support of international order in the world.

3. Developmental Non-Intervention. Abandon the attempt to achieve short-run political aims or to influence the course of political development in the uncommitted countries through active U.S. intervention, and work to achieve long-run modernization of third areas instead.

Detach aid program from politics and put it under control of an administrative organization. Distribute aid generously, on the basis of the recipients' ability to employ aid in a manner profitable to their societies. Supervise use only to degree necessary to determine that it is not being diverted to graft or frivolity.



Generally reduce U.S. involvement in the affairs of the uncommitted countries to a minimum.

4. Anti-Colonialism. Give diplomatic support and in some circumstances even substantive help to underdeveloped areas striving to gain full self-government.
5. Democratic intervention. Support democratic forces in underdeveloped countries.

Protect existing democratic governments militarily against external antidemocratic enemies and internal antidemocratic factions.

Help them strengthen national economies.

Help democratic factions rise to power.

Administer economic and military aid in a manner which encourages democratic tendencies in the underdeveloped societies. Use promises or withholding of aid as a tool to extract concessions from reactionary governments.

6. Area Integration. Promote movements toward greater area-wide cooperation and unity, ranging from simple conferences all the way to actual unifications where feasible. Do so in effort to increase the ability of the uncommitted areas to maintain their independence against Sino-Soviet pressures.
7. Encouragement of Competence. Give diplomatic support and aid to existing governments or rising groups which seem capable of consolidating power and administering aid effectively in a manner conducive to national development, and willing to follow moderate foreign policies.

Channel aid to governments directly, so as to build up a trained administrative class.

Avoid needless intervention and do not press for democratic reforms unsuited to the level of sophistication of the individual populations of the underdeveloped countries.

8. Pragmatic Intervention. Adopt policies which appear most effective short-run means of protecting American interests and preventing the further aggrandizement of our enemies. For example:

Try to sustain and strengthen all anti-Communist governments.

Seek influence among underdeveloped nations by supporting or seeking friendship of the forces that seem to have or be gaining power.

Give aid wherever immediate and short-term effects seem likely to be useful to us.

9. Go Along with Our Allies. Support West European allies (perhaps somewhat unenthusiastically) in colonial disputes and consult them on other policy matters concerning the underdeveloped.
10. Encouragement of Private Enterprise. Support the development of free enterprise capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. Attempt to slow down bureaucracy building and encourage rise of an independent middle class by channeling aid to private enterprise rather than government projects. Foreign policy is unfriendly to heavily centralized or overtly socialist governments in the third areas.
11. Regional Alliances. Sponsor anti-Communist alliances and other regional arrangements (such as METO, SEATO, OAS) to defend against aggression.
12. Ideological. Put policy toward the uncommitted on an ideological, Cold War basis.

Refuse to aid or maintain cooperative relations with overtly Communist countries such as Yugoslavia or Poland.

Give political support and aid to third area countries in proportion to the degree of their commitment to our Cold War cause. Punish neutralism or friendly dealings with the Soviet bloc by reducing or withdrawing aid.

13. Isolationist Non-Intervention. Ignore events in the uncommitted areas and make no effort to influence their political affairs, unless the vital interests of the U.S. are directly threatened. Then make a strong stand which will generally involve the threat or use of force, rather than any political maneuvering.
14. Hold the Line. Act to sustain great power dominance in the underdeveloped areas.

Promote great power dominated trade groupings, defensive pacts, etc., in these areas.

Support Western business interests in their disputes with governments in these areas.

Lend aid to repressing revolution and disorder.

Support puppet governments.

Reduce power of uncommitted in the U.N. by changing voting rules or role of the General Assembly.

## FOREIGN POLICY -- SOVIET UNION

### 1. Turn the Other Cheek

Objectives: That in its relations with the Soviet Union, the U.S. strive to attain the highest standards of traditional Western morality. Contribute to world peace and the development of brotherhood of man.

Assumptions: If we meet the Soviet Union with love instead of fear and hostility she will be drawn to respond in a like manner, thus ending the conflict between us.

Tactics: Make only peaceful opposition to Soviet moves. Institute a program of aid and technical assistance to the U.S.S.R. where needed. Employ Gandhian tactics if Soviet Union takes advantage of our renunciation of resistance to invade us.

### 2. Ignore the Soviet Union

Objectives: Reduce our foreign responsibilities and involvements, decrease the amount of energy and resources expended on the Soviet problem.

Assumptions: Soviet activities outside our borders largely do not concern us. Even if the U.S.S.R. were able to conquer or convert most of the underdeveloped world, which is unlikely, it could not successfully organize or administer its energies so as to threaten the U.S. American strategic deterrence and conventional capacity is sufficient to defend against any seriously conceivable threat.

Tactics: Ignore the Soviet Union unless it threatens one of a very narrowly defined group of American vital interests. In such a case, make an absolute stand in its defense.

### 3. Appeasement

Objectives: So satisfy Soviet ambitions as to cause it to commit itself to the peaceful maintenance of the status quo; or avoid head-on conflict indefinitely in the expectation of moderating Soviet policies.

Assumptions: When the Soviet Union has gained enough to prove to itself and to the world that it enjoys great power status, it will become more interested in defending its position than altering it.

Tactics: Oppose Soviet aggressiveness to a limited extent, but acquiesce if she seems to be seriously resolved on some object.

### 4. Positive Accommodation

Objectives: Prepare U.S. for partnership with the U.S.S.R. in the creation of a democratic Socialist world order.

Assumptions: Socialism is the inevitable outcome of the political evolution of the world and is the most just and desirable of social-economic systems. The present Soviet government is not truly socialist, but will eventually become such if not warped in its development by Western hostility. If both nations become socialist, they will cooperate to create world peace and progress.

Tactics: Work to develop socialism in the United States. Oppose aspects of Russian international behavior which stem from nationalism and the dictatorial nature of the present Soviet system, but make it clear we sympathize with progressive Soviet aims.

5. Accommodation

Objectives: Reach a peaceful modus vivendi with the U.S.S.R. based on compromises of conflicts of interest.

Assumptions: The allaying of Soviet fear of Western power and intentions and the recognition of legitimate Soviet national interests, may make peaceful accommodation possible between East and West.

Tactics: Avoid provocations, reduce tensions, develop mutual confidence by tolerating moderate Soviet gains, negotiating conflicts, offering compromises.

6. Legalistic

Objectives: To contain Soviet behavior within the bounds of international law. To carry on our relations with the Soviet Union within the framework of law, and in a manner which strengthens international institutions.

Assumptions: A lawful world is preferable to an anarchistic one, and man has not achieved it yet only because states fear each other. If we, a great power, break the stalemate by regulating the use of our own strength by law, others, including Russia, may follow suit.

Tactics: Oppose all illegal Soviet gains and accept all those achieved through legal processes. Submit our disputes to the processes of international law; oppose Soviet aggression through the medium of international institutions, as far as this is compatible with national security.

7. Common Interest Building

Objectives: Maintain American security against the Soviet threat. Simultaneously, lay down a basis of common interest for the development of peaceful relations in the future.

Assumptions: The relationships of nations are determined by the interactions of their interests. If we can create many common interests between the Soviet Union and U.S., our conflicts will become easier to resolve.

Tactics: Maintain a steady defense against Russian aggression, but at the same time work to enlarge Soviet-American trade and technical exchange, promote joint technical projects, and seize opportunities for political cooperation.

8. Containment

Objectives: Prevent any Soviet gain whatsoever in any part of the world.

Assumptions: If the Soviet Union is shown that aggression is unremunerative, it will turn its energies to internal affairs and her society will mellow. International cooperation will then become more feasible.

Tactics: Oppose Soviet expansion at any point in the globe with whatever force is necessary. (Could be accompanied by a simultaneous effort to enlarge the area of common interests.)

9. Crusade

Objectives: Defeat Soviet Union ideologically in uncommitted areas and within Russia itself.

Assumptions: The behavior of nations is determined by ideological convictions. By winning the uncommitted nations to democracy, we assure their cold war allegiance. A democratic revolution in Russia would make it possible for our two nations to live in peace.

Tactics: Outdo Soviet ideological efforts in uncommitted areas, vigorously support or oppose political factions on the basis of their ideological attitudes. Promote revolution behind the Iron Curtain.

10. Rollback

Objectives: Force Soviet Union back from her present geographic power limits, freeing subjected peoples of Eastern Europe, returning Russia to pre-World War II boundaries and influence.

Assumptions: The Soviet Union should be deprived of illegal gains; politically subjugated peoples should be released. If this can be achieved, the present Russian regime may crack under the strain, and democratic revolution succeed in Russia.

Tactics: Promote revolution against Russia in all Communist-controlled areas and support it when it erupts with whatever force is necessary. Use force aggressively in "Third World" conflicts with the Communists.

#### FOREIGN -- WESTERN EUROPE

1. End all formal ties and refuse any informal responsibility for Europe.

Preserve strict neutrality in Europe's concerns, unless her activities affect our vital interests adversely.

2. Bulwark Europe. End all alliance responsibilities to Europe. Promote her unification so that she can stand up to Russia alone. Expect her to exercise an independent foreign policy as a great power.

3. Implicit Commitment. End all formal ties with Europe and reduce involvement in European political affairs. Recognize, however, that American security is intimately linked to European independence; therefore, plan to give military aid if she is threatened, and to defend her if she is attacked.

4. Explicit Unilateral Commitment. End alliance ties with Europe, and reduce involvement in European political affairs. Recognize, however, that American security requires an independent Europe, and defend her with an explicit commitment to respond to her invasion strategically or conventionally. Policy may or may not involve U.S. support for European unity and/or neutrality.

5. Classic Alliance. Allow NATO to dissolve, but retain classical two-way alliance commitment to aid the other party if it is attacked.

Contracting members maintain individual nuclear deterrents and forces. Coordination of forces is uninstitutionalized and left up to individual decisions of the nations involved.

Policies of members in other areas are treated with the respect due sovereign great powers, and little attempt is made to influence them unless they actively endanger the welfare of the alliance as a whole.

6. Formal NATO. Maintain NATO organization on a formal level. However, members control their own conventional forces and deterrents. A token coordination of these forces is maintained, and a perfunctory effort is made to coordinate policy in nonmilitary areas.

7. Tight Partnership of Equal(s) NATO. Achieve as great a degree of coordination of military planning and foreign policy as possible in an alliance wherein members retain ultimate control over the use of their deterrents and nonnuclear forces.

Create de facto military integration which makes individual action difficult, increases the efficiency with which the alliance would



react to attack, and provides a basis for possible formal force unification later on.

Promote political unification of Europe, and attempt to influence European policies outside Europe so they are as conducive as possible to the strength and security of the alliance.

8. U.S. Dominated NATO. Persuade the European nations that our commitment to their defense is reliable and that attempts to build nuclear forces of their own only involve them in unnecessary expenses and dangers.

NATO nuclear forces are under U.S. control; conventional defense is coordinated under largely American direction.

Attempt to prevent the Europeans from involving themselves in activities outside Europe which decrease Western strength and popularity or increase the risk of war to the alliance.

9. Truly Centralized NATO. Install centralized executive control over NATO forces.

Alliance has single deterrent force, completely integrated army, and centralized war planning for war in Europe.

In political areas work to create trust and unity of purpose among members sufficient to make this arrangement workable.

10. Expanded Alliance. Expand role of NATO so that as much as possible, members coordinate all policy.

Institute centralized NATO management of military affairs and foreign policy. Promote European unity. Institutionalize cooperation between Europe and America in the economic and social fields, perhaps coordinating these activities under NATO as well.

11. Atlantic Union. Initiate a program to unite the nations of Europe and the United States under one federal government.

#### SPACE

1. Scientific. No obvious immediate military applications aside from communication, warning, reconnaissance and surveillance. Emphasis on vehicle technology, basic research, space experiments and exploration. However, recognize that space is important and apply relatively relaxed criteria for the justification of even expensive programs.

2. Prestige and Propaganda. Perform experiments when possible, but emphasize the spectacular and showy; attempt to create a world-wide image of leadership in space technology.
3. Earth Oriented. Assume or recognize that the major conflicts (political and military) will be on earth; that space is spectacular and interesting but not very important aside from the obvious exceptions. Military and civilian space systems are likely to be both expensive and unreliable except for the pursuit of temporary headlines and, with relatively few exceptions, scientific research is too expensive for the return--so do not waste resources. Indeed because space is so fashionable be especially suspicious of projects urged on "objective" grounds that utilize space.
4. Passive Orientation. Treat space like any other area. Do not give any special credit to projects which improve our capability in the space area over other projects but do those projects which seem reasonable on a cost-benefit basis. In particular, do not allocate money for scientific research in space as long as there are important areas on earth (undersea exploration, biological research, etc.) which are far underexploited.
5. Space as Park. Try to keep space free from all the conflicts on earth and in addition, try to keep space relatively untouched by human interference, i.e., do not clutter up space with decoys or new experiments which interfere with ionization belts, and so on.
6. Space as Garbage Dump. Have almost exact opposite of policy No. 5. Treat space as a natural place in which one should dump radioactivity and also where one should conduct limited or agonistic type of warfare. Fully exploit the fact that limited space warfare will kill very few human beings, damage very little property, and leave very few physical aftermaths.
7. Freedom of Space. Proceed with the development and deployment of space systems on the assumption that they will not be attacked by the other side. No plans of initiating or coping with limited space warfare. Try to negotiate Antarctic type arms control treaties (with some possible exceptions for warning, reconnaissance, and surveillance); want freedom in space to become like freedom of the sea.
8. Follow the Leader. Do what the other side does, following in research, development, and/or deployment. For example, if he starts R&D on a bombardment satellite, you do likewise.



9. Aggressive. Always act in your best interests. Deploy systems you believe useful; attack those you feel harmful; and defend yours, if necessary. A firm policy, asserting your right to use space "freely," but possibly denying his.
10. Deterrence. In order to gain the "right" to use space, attempt to deter interference by threat of retaliation; either in kind, or otherwise. May or may not provide for limited space war fighting capability if deterrence fails.
11. Contingency Planning. Emphasize preparations for limited space warfare--measure, countermeasure, counter-countermeasures, etc.--in response to other side's actions and reactions. A flexible policy which may or may not initiate limited space warfare, depending on the situation.
12. Space Control and Self-Denial. Attack anything you don't like, but don't deploy "offensive" space systems yourself.
13. Expansionist Policy. An aggressive policy, exploiting space to the utmost--claim sovereignty over moon, planets, and space--the competition could include attempts to eliminate the other side's space system or at least the aggressive development and deployment of space defense systems, SAINT, bombardment satellites, and so on.
14. Earth Domination via Space Control. All-out attempt to control and use space. Includes crash programs in space defense systems, mid-course intercept, satellite inspection and destruct systems, bombardment satellites, space command and control satellites, point defense systems, etc. Also extensive scientific and engineering program of space exploration, moon bases, satellite telescopes, etc.